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ABSTRACT

This third volume of a six-volume study of a school district code-named "Milford" shifts attention to the Kensington School itself. To explain the "profound changes" this "once innovative school" went through, the authors begin with such wider topics as demography, neighborhoods, and political jurisdiction. Chapter 1 traces Milford's "Native American Heritage," from the prehistoric period through the "infiltration" of white explorers, missionaries, and traders. The portrait of Milford's first settlers in chapter 2 focuses on one "Elias Chester" and slavery on the Chester estate. In chapter 3, the authors describe Milford's development from 1845 to 1865 and on through the post-Civil War period of the Reconstruction. Following chapter 4's depiction of "The Twilight of Pastoral Milford" from 1879 to 1902 and the beginnings of modern Milford brought about by the first wave of suburbanization, chapter 5 covers Milford's "Bust to Boom" years. Chapter 6, "The Transformation of Milford," is divided into the "innovative" years (1964-65), the "golden" years (1966-72), and "Changing Neighborhoods and Changing Schools: 1973 to 1980." The study concludes with an epilogue. In order to protect the anonymity of the school district studied in such detail, pseudonyms have been used for all place names (school, school district, city, county, state) and personal names (school superintendents, school board members, teachers, students) appearing in the various volumes of this set. (JBM)

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INNOVATION AND CHANGE IN AMERICAN EDUCATION
KENSINGTON REVISITED: A FIFTEEN YEAR FOLLOW-UP OF AN INNOVATIVE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL AND ITS FACULTY

VOLUME III

COMMUNITY AND SCHOOL: PATTERNS OF DEVELOPMENT AND ANNALS OF CHANGE

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Community and School:
Patterns of Development and Annals of Change

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Foreword

to

Innovation and Change in American Education
Kensington Revisited: A 15 Year Follow-Up of An Innovative School and Its Faculty

(Smith, Dwyer, Kleine, Prunty)

This research is about innovation and change in American education. It began as Kensington Revisited: A 15 year follow-up of an innovative school and its faculty, Project G78-0074, supported by the National Institute of Education. As in most of our case study research, the initial problem was buffeted about by the reality of settings, events, and people as captured by our several modes of inquiry--participant observation, intensive open ended interviews, and the collection and analysis of multiple documents. The setting was Kensington, an elementary school built fifteen years ago as a prototypical innovative building with open space, laboratory suites instead of classrooms, a perception core instead of a library and a nerve center for the latest in technological education equipment. The people were the series of administrators, teachers, pupils, and parents who worked in, attended, or sent their children to the school. Three principals have come and gone, the fourth is in his first year. Three cadres of faculty have staffed the school. The events were the activities of those people as they built and transformed the school over the years. This story we found, and we constructed, as part of a larger setting, the Milford School District which had its own story, actors, and events and which provided an important context for Kensington.

In the course of the search for the major theme about which our developing ideas and data could be integrated. "Innovation and Change in American Education", became the guiding thesis. That theme is composed of a half dozen sub themes, each of which makes up a separate volume in the report. While we believe the totality of the study has its own kind of integrity and that each volume extends the meanings of the others, we have written each as a "stand alone" piece. That is, we believe each speaks to an important domain of Innovation and Change in American Education, each draws most heavily upon a particular subset of our data, and each contains important descriptive narratives, substantive grounded interpretations and generalizations. This foreword, which appears in each volume, is intended, in a few sentences, to keep the totality and each of the pieces in the forefront of the reader's consciousness.

Volume I Chronicling the Milford School District: An Historical Context of the Kensington School

Kensington's fifteen year existence is but one small segment of Milford's sixty-five years of recorded history and one school in a district with a dozen other schools. The superintendent who built the school is just one of five individuals who have held the post. As we have told the story, we have raised generalizations regarding innovation and change, and we have presaged themes of policy, of local, state and national influences on the school, of organizational structure and process, and of curriculum and teaching. The key documents in developing the perspective were the official school board minutes. Newsletters to patrons, newspaper accounts, other records, and interviews, formal and informal, supplemented the basic documents.

Volume II Milford: The School District as Contemporary Context

In a fundamental sense, Volume II is a continuation, a final chapter as it were, to the historical context of the Milford School District. It is a long chapter, however, for the central actors and events which immediately and directly shaped the Kensington School are in place, just as the school is in place. The ebb and flow of the district, in its recent history, is brought to a particular focus, one that will illuminate the events and themes that appear in the development and change in the Kensington School over its fifteen year history and in its current status. The board of education, the superintendency, the central office staff, and their interrelationships lead toward "a governance and organizational perspective on innovation and change". Board minutes remain the central core of the data with increasing amounts of information from public documents (e.g. newspapers), interviews with central actors, and observation of meetings.

Volume III Innovation and Change at Kensington: Annals of a Community and School

After carefully examining the historical context of the Milford School District, our focus shifts to innovation and change at the Kensington School. Our search for an explanation of the profound changes that have taken place in a once innovative school, has pushed us back in time and obliged us to consider such wider topics as demography, neighborhoods, and political jurisdiction. Volume III begins by tracing origins and development of a community that became part of the Milford School District in 1949 and a neighborhood that began sending its children to Kensington School in 1964. With the opening of Kensington, the annals of the community are joined by a history of the school. As we develop the stories of Kensington and its neighborhood in tandem, we begin to tell of the interdependency of school and community and to further our understanding of innovation and change in schooling in contemporary American Society.

Volume IV Kensington Today: Sailing Stormy Straits, a View of Education Policy in Action

An ethnographic account of the school today with particular reference to educational policy in action at the day to day school level is presented here. The major metaphor is a ship sailing through stormy straits on a perilous journey during the 1979-80 school year. Staff and students produce vivid scenes reflecting issues in racial integration, special education, discipline, and instruction in the basic subjects. Policy analysis seems analogous to the fine art of navigation.

Volume V Educational Innovators Then and Now

Crucial to any education enterprise are the people who staff the schools. Smith and Keith characterized the original faculty of Kensington as true believers. In this Volume we sketch life histories, careers, serials of the original faculty based on extended open-ended interviews (2-7 hours), comments by spouses, friends and colleagues, and various writings—books, brochures, reports, and dissertations. Patterns and themes arise in the form of "secular religion," "you do go home again," "organizational niches and career opportunities for educationists," "maintenance of educational ideology," "continuity and change in personality," and "doctoral education, a disaster for reform oriented practitioners."

Volume VI Case Study Research Methodology: The Intersect of Participant Observation, Historical Method, Life History Research, and Follow-Up Studies

Regularly in our inquiry we have produced "methodological appendices" to our research reports. We saw our efforts as clarifying the craft of research as we practiced it, ordering its evolving nature, and continuously attempting to integrate it with other ways of knowing. This essay continues in that tradition. Specifically our mode of participant observation now has enlarged itself by a substantial historical thrust and a substantial life history or biographical thrust. In addition, our research is an instance of a special methodological stance, a follow-up or return to the setting of an earlier major study. (e.g., Middletown in Transition) In this way it takes on a time series quality with repeated observation. In doing the descriptive and analytical pieces, Volumes I through V, in reading about how others have done similar work, in talking with proponents of the various methods, we have reached for a broader synthesis of case study research methods in the intersection of these several approaches. We see all this as an important addition to the methodological literature in educational inquiry.

In summary, our research is a unique blend of approaches to the problems and issues of Innovation and change in American Education. It is grounded in the multiple aspects of a single school in a single school district. As in all case studies the particular events have major meanings for the actors in the setting, but, also, we believe that these events often capture images and ideas that have relevance for other people in other times and places. Recently, Geertz has spoken of these as "experience-near" and "experience-distant" conceptions. In each form we hope to be providing mirrors for educationists to see themselves better, that is more clearly, to be conscious of rephrased problems, and to create more viable options and alternatives. Our multi volumed report is presented with these aspirations in mind.

INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

The very first school in the region of modern Milford was constructed during the 1870's. Milford finished building its last school, Kensington Elementary, at the onset of Winter in 1964. Looking at Kensington from the outside, the building portended new educational directions. "Classical Futurism" might be a way to label the architect's way of combining Greek columns with space age designs such as "solar screens." On the inside, Kensington was ranging open space, a sunken amphitheatre, a fish pond inlaid with the carpet, air conditioning, and more. All of these physical features were intended to complement a bold and novel approach to teaching and learning. In 1964 Kensington was truly at the cutting edge of the "New Elementary Education." We can speculate that there was a good deal of talk around the dinner table the evening of the first day of school. Terms like "nerve center" and "perception core" and "laboratory suites" were sure to have required some explanation to parents not familiar with these terms.

Our account of Kensington's troubled beginnings, Anatomy of Educational Innovation (Smith and Keith, 1971) led to predictions that Kensington's departure from tradition would be short-lived. "Reversion to the Old Milford Type" is how we phrased it. Never then could we imagine the nature and extent of changes that were to come over Kensington in the years ahead. On our return visit a decade and a half later, the correctness and limitations of our forecast began to unfold. Clues to the school's transformation were all around. Stains and signs of wear told of the thousands of children who passed over Kensington's carpeted floors enroute to adulthood. Many open spaces were now walled or partitioned. A perimeter of barbed wire sentineled the roof top. Graffitti blemished the brickwork.

Since 1964 Kensington has employed more than 100 teachers. Curriculum and teaching methods have also changed in the intervening years. Four principals have administered Kensington School under the direction of two superintendents. Their visions of Kensington's mission have changed too. The school which used no textbooks in 1964 now flourishes with readers, spellers, workbooks, and such. In the beginning, Kensington operated on a "continuous progress" philosophy with children grouped only in three broad "divisions." Today we find the traditional K through 6 arrangement, and with promotion dependent upon grade level achievement. Time has also witnessed changes in discipline and classroom control. Such practices as paddling, detention, and suspension were unheard of in earlier days. Fifteen years later, they were very much in evidence. Indeed, classroom control seemed to be the most critical issue among the faculty.

Nor is the neighborhood today exactly like it was in 1964. Fields and woods have yielded to houses, apartments, shops, and roads. The new brick and frame homes which attracted young White families during the late '50s appear more seasoned now. Many of the original occupants have moved away. Those who remained have been joined by young Black families who, like themselves 20 years earlier, are seeking a better life in suburbia. Finding Kensington an integrated school was no less surprising than the physical, curricular and personnel changes we discovered.

Our desire to understand how and why Kensington changed led us outside the school building to explore such community features as race and residential patterns. We are considerably more comfortable wearing the cap of educational researcher alone than in combination with demographer and community sociologist. Yet we must tolerate an awkward fit if we are to understand the changes at Kensington. Our reluctance to cross disciplines is overcome somewhat by non-educationists recognizing the same interdependencies. Thus a demographer notes that:

> Considerable literature exists on the ways in which educational systems in central cities have functioned as their ratios of Black students increased. Other studies of suburban racial transition and the educational institutions are needed, especially in light of the declining White and Black birthrate. (Sutker and Sutker, 1974, pp. 189-90)

Our historical bent has not permitted us to lose sight of the fact that Kensington's new Black families are only the most recent wave of settlers in Milford. People have lived in the area for thousands of years. Many periods of population transition have occurred in the past, and will again in the future. The historical approach we apply rests on the belief that past periods of community transition may reveal commonalities and contrasts which enhance our understanding of the present. These, we trust, will ultimately allow us to speak more assuredly to the complexities of educational innovation and change.

Our general aim in Volume III is to construct a descriptive narrative which chronicles community development in Milford and illuminates the dynamics of population change, and its consequences upon school and community development. The data we have collected come from many sources. This is necessary, given our interdisciplinary problem, and even preferred, as we remain more confident in the inferences we draw from multiple methods and sources.[1] We should like to briefly outline our methodological position now, and also invite the reader to consider the broader discus- sion of methods and procedures in Volume VI.

Simply put, we carefully studied Kensington School in its first year, 1964, and then returned 15 years later to make another set of observations. In this sense, our design bears a specious resemblance to the classical "One-Group Pretest-Posttest" (O-X-O). Critics (Campbell and Stanley, 1964) might merely label such a design a "Two-Shot Case Study." Our general aim has been to describe how Kensington in 1980 was alike and different from the school in 1964, and then explain why. In searching for the "why" in Kensington's metamorphosis, on both our visits we found community characteristics to account for a good bit of what we observed inside the school. Our need to know more about the community gave rise to this third volume and reflects the kind of evolution in case study research that we have noted in other instances (Smith, 1979; Prunty, 1981). To understand the Milford community, we quickly learned that a longitudinal, and broader contextual approach was required. Our aim in this historical case study of Kensington's community context is to construct a descriptive narrative which illuminates community development and portrays its historical relationship with Milford Schools. We have constructed this narrative with a minimum of interpretation, preferring to simply tell the story of the Kensington School and community. In effect, this Volume provides a descriptive context to the analyses found in Volumes I, II, and IV. In constructing this historical narrative we have been especially attentive to periods of population transition, and while trying to represent multiple perspectives, we have tried to depict minority points of view with special care and detail.

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[1] See Smith, L.M. (1979) for an extended discussion of triangulation and multiple methods.

At a more concrete level, we have employed a number of specific procedures. One of these was the use of oral history to reconstruct the past. We were able to contact many persons associated with events we could not ourselves directly observe. It was our good fortune to locate several "old timers" to help us with this task. One gentleman, at age ninety, granted us several interviews concerning the community he had been a part of since 1917. Newcomers to Milford have also helped us by offering their perspective on more recent Milford community and school history.

Many important events have no living witnesses, so in tracing the development of the Milford community we have had to rely on archival materials and on the extant body of local historical research. The Midwest State Historical Society, Metropolitan City Library, and City University's library archives have been important sources for such data. Among the types of data obtained from these sources are legal records, correspondence, biographies and assorted maps and plat books.

Vital statistics compiled by the United States Census Bureau have also been valuable in the longitudinal portrayal of population changes in the Milford community. These and similar data gathered by the

Milford School District have permitted us a particularly useful perspective on the development of the Milford Schools and community.

This third volume of Kensington Revisited contains six chapters. The first is a descriptive narration of community life around Milford from the days of its earliest Native American inhabitants until their displacement from Midwest State in the 1820's. Chapter Two is a portrait of Milford's preeminant pioneer family, the Chesters, who built one of the first homes in the community in 1812. Chapter Three continues the story of the settlement of Milford by turning outside its borders to consider developments in the district's nearby cities and towns. The fourth chapter is titled "The Beginnings of Modern Milford" and depicts the community's transition from an agricultural to a residential area. Chapter Five continues forward to the time just before Kensington Elementary was constructed. In the final chapter, titled "The Transformation of Milford and Kensington", we explore the school and community dynamics in the time between our first and second visits to the innovative Kensington.

Now we are ready to begin searching for the lessons about innovation and change to be learned in the folds and furls of community history.

1. MILFORD'S NATIVE AMERICAN HERITAGE

American Indians had lived in and around modern Milford thousands of years before the Whites settled in the area. The legacy left by the Asian peoples who fanned southward through the Americas is rich and manifold. Food items such as turkey, Irish potatoes, pumpkins, strawberries, peanuts, corn, and chocolate are all derived from early peoples. Rubber, gum, cocaine, curare, and tobacco are also descendent of ancient inhabitants, along with such forms of entertainment as handball and hockey. A vast assortment of geographical names are reminders of earlier times and societies.

There were numerous population changes among Indians before their contacts with Whites. But soon afterwards, Native Americans were to be permanently displaced by these newcomers. In Milford this occurred in the early 1800's. We believe that at a minimum, consideration of the way of life of Indian peoples will provide a context and perspective on modern Milford society. We take it as an article of faith that knowing of Milford's earlier peoples will help us to understand the modern community as it is now undergoing change.

The paragraphs ahead are organized in two broad sections; the first considers the prehistoric era and the second examines the period of exploration and settlement by Whites.

1.1 Prehistoric Milford

This section examines some 10,000 years of Native American history prior to the time when these peoples first made contact with Europeans. Archaelogists subdivide these millenia into four cultural epochs: Paleo-Indian, Archaic, Woodland, and Mississippian. These periods provide a useful framework for the brief description of cultural development among Milford's earliest inhabitants.

1.1.1 Paleo-Indian Period.

Before 10,000 B.C. a small band of hunters crossed over from Siberia to Alaska and became the first human beings on the American continent. These representatives of "Early Man" found conditions in the new lands favorable to their subsistence and over the centuries their descendents migrated southward. The first human being to set foot in the region of the Milford School District probably did so after the last glacial retreat, around 8,000 B.C.[2] The Sauk River, Milford's southern boundary, was created in this glacial melting. Frequent floods and dust storms notwithstanding, pleistocene fauna and flora found the Sauk river valley hospitable, as did also the humans who depended upon them. The archeological evidence summarized by Chapman and Chapman (1964) indicates that:

> ...very early a group of people occupied the natural rock shelter and that they were hunters. The shelter was used only as a temporary camping place by these people. Some of their

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[2] Some archeologists believe that Early Man may have crossed the Bering Strait over 40,000 years ago and settled in the region of Milford long before the last glacial retreat.

> fire pits were found on the original floor of the shelter along with knives, spear points, flint axes, scrapers, and choppers. Only a few projectile points were found. (p. 27)

The social organization of these earliest peoples is obscure, but the scattered artifacts of these nomadic hunters suggests nothing larger than family units.

1.1.2 The Archaic Period.

The forty-five centuries between 5,000 and 500 B.C. are known as the Archaic period of American Indian culture. During this time climatic conditions moderated and such animals as the mastadon, camel, and giant ground sloth became extinct. New modes of survival evolved. Men were hunters and ventured well beyond the cave dwellings on lengthy forays. At camp, women cared for the children, sewed fitted clothing, wove nets, and milled the seeds they had gathered. The archeological record of these people provides other clues to the culture of Milford's archaic passers-through:

> The Indians (living in the region) spent most of their time hunting, gathering, and preparing food and making the tools and utensils necessary to obtain food and protect themselves from the elements. A little of their time was spent in ceremonial devotions; body and face painting probably was an important preparation for those who took part in rituals. Many cupstones full of red mineral paint and pieces of hematite paintstone that had been ground for powdered pigment have been found on the cave floor. Ceremonies, perhaps shamanistic, are indicated by a ring of rocks encircling a large stone in one area of the cave. This area, interpreted as being a council ring or ceremonial area....may have been the local church or lodge of the earliest people using the cave....There were few evidences of the usual kitchen refuse, suggesting that the area was used for ceremonial rites or councils rather than for domestic purposes. The cave served occasionally as a burial place....That they cherished a belief in afterlife might be inferred from the funeral preparations. The burial was not in the flesh. No more than half of the larger bones of the

> skeleton were in the burial pit....A drilled coyote canine tooth found with the burial may denote that there was a mythology concerning the animal at a very early date. The coyote is an important character in Indian myth in historic times.
> (Chapman and Chapman, 1964, pp. 33,35)

1.1.3 The Woodland Period.

Beginning about 500 B.C. and lasting fourteen centuries, the Woodland period is divided into three phases. The first use of pottery occurred in the early Woodland times. Clay vessels and utensils improved food preparation and storage, and permitted the transportation of water. Hunting and foraging remained the principle means of subsistence and a nomadic way of life persisted. As the Woodland period passed into its middle phase, significant and widespread changes occurred:

> Farming, the settlement in one place for a long period of time by well organized communities, the construction of large ceremonial earthworks, widespread trading activities, and the manufacture of a great variety of excellently made art objects distinguished the Middle Woodland people from their predecessors. Gardening was a major activity that equaled hunting and gathering in importance. It was probably the development of dependable means of subsistence that made it possible for the people of the community to allot the time necessary to build the mounds, ditches, and embankments associated with their ceremonial life. In its turn, the emphasis upon ceremony and ritual objects may account for the development of trade...for special materials to be made into art objects. This Middle Woodland cultural development was strong and vigorous and spread over most of the Midwest.
> (Chapman and Chapman, 1964, p. 49)

Because of its riverine geography, Woodland Milford was linked with a trade network that transported copper from the Great Lakes, mica from the Appalachians, conch shells from the Gulf of Mexico, and obsidain from the Rockies. The transition of the Woodland culture into its late phase was marked by a regionalization in trade and ceremonial activity and an apparent decline of importance for both. Agriculture and the production of beans, corn, and squash was important, but secondary to hunting. This may have been due to the bow and arrow which replaced the spear-thrower. With this technical development, hunting and warfare took on new dimensions. It was in this era also that Indians began coalescing at Eagle's Nest along the river.

1.1.4 The Mississippian Period.

While Europe passed through the Dark Ages and into the Renaissance, Indian culture around Milford entered the Mississippian period, spanning the six centuries between 900 and 1500. For the first time, "Indian Cities" developed, some containing thousands of residents. Eagle's Nest, scarcely 20 miles from Milford, was one such town which became a regional center of trade and ceremony. Changes in lifestyle accompanied population changes in Mississippian Milford:

> The Mississippian Period was characterized by an intrusion of ideas, culture, and people coming from the South, up the Mississippi River Valley. The culture was riverine in type, that is, the settlements and the activities of the people living in them were closely associated with the rivers. The people were dependent upon water dwelling animals as well as upon river bottomlands suited to agriculture. For the first time in the history of the central Mississippi Valley the Indians were more dependent upon gardening than upon any other activity. Corn, beans, squash, and perhaps a variety of other crops such as sunflowers and gourds were raised intensively by the town dwellers. Fishing was important economically. Another major activity was the collecting of mussels (fresh water clams) for food and for their shells. Communal hunting was practiced to obtain food for feasts in connection with the ceremonial calendar. Large hunting parties roamed far from the town, but the towns were not depleted by their absence and continued "business as usual." Smaller hunting parties formed on a family or clan basis brought in game from the vicinity. An almost continuous stream of people from the hinterlands brought salt, meat, paint, skins, bow wood, nuts, and other items to barter for goods of equal value or to exchange as

> presents on a friendly basis. Salt was one of the major trade items produced at salt springs not far from the great mound center at Eagle's Nest. Pottery was another item of trade, especially the finer wares so distinctive of Eagle's Nest. (Chapman and Chapman, 1964, pp. 64-5)

Ceremonial aspects of Mississippian life lend to some interesting contrasts with the contemporary. In the case of handicapped persons:

> Some of the effigy pots portray hunchbacks. The townspeople, in common with Indians in others parts of the Americas, held certain physical deformities or abnormalities in awe, perhaps in fear. Myth and story played important parts in such beliefs. Hunchbacks were influential enough to be depicted on the pottery. Cripples and people with deformities often became semi-religious leaders or shamans who were believed to have supernatural powers. (Chapman and Chapman, 1964, p. 68)

As Franzwa (1967) notes, these city dwellers erected temples on top of some of the mounds, "and these were surrounded with numerous houses, arranged in accordance with the social prestige of the occupants"(p. 6). Other earthworks were constructed for burials. Like their ancestors, the townspeople believed in afterlife. Food, water, ornaments, and tools often accompanied the deceased. In the burial of important villagers, the crossed leg bones and skull were placed atop the buried remains. The "Jolly Roger" flown by pirates, and displayed on modern poison labels are a part of the symbolism originating in the Mississippian period.

For reasons not understood by archeologists, Eagle's Nest was abandoned before Columbus discovered America. The earthen ceremonial works remained. With the infiltration of Europeans, Eagle's Nest became a mission and trading post from which Metropolitan City had its origin. Other Indian villages, none as grand as Eagle's Nest, existed when

Whites began exploration and trade. Crow's Feather and several Osage villages exerted dominance in regional culture at the time of this contact with Europeans. This marks the start of recorded history, and the beginning of the end of thousands of years of a hunting-gathering culture. We end this description of Prehistoric Milford by placing it in geographical context. This is shown as Figure 1.

Insert Figure 1 About Here

1.2 Infiltration of White Explorers, Missionaries and Traders

Native Americans had not developed written language, so except for legend and archeological remains, much of what we know about the Indian way of life in early historic times was penned by Europeans. Before and after the arrival of Whites, numerous Indian tribes had passed through or resided in Midwest state. Hunting, warfare, trade, and migration took place in and around Milford by such tribes as the Pottawatomie, Miami, Kickapoo, Missouri, Delaware, Shawnee, Iowa, Osage, Fox, Sauk, and Illinois. Among these groups, the Osage exerted a strong influence on regional history. This point, in combination with the volumes of research on the Osage[3] recommends these original midwesterners to represent the dynamics of population transition in early Milford. This

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[3] The establishment of the Indian Claims Commission in 1946 permitted Indians to bring suit against the United States Government. Litigation over Osage land claims produced numerous reports documenting many facets of Osage culture.

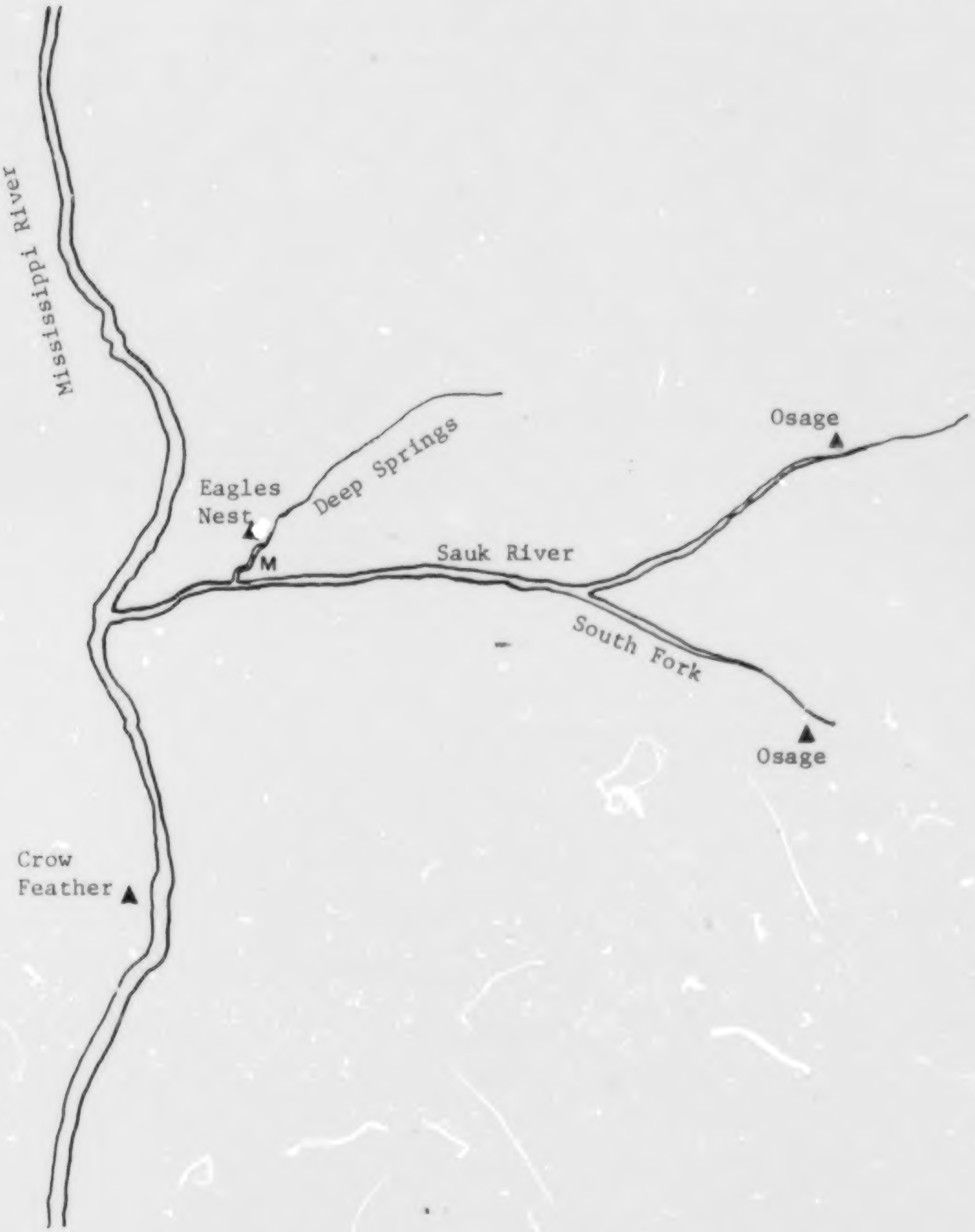
Mississippi River
Deep Springs
Eagles Nest
M
Sauk River
Osage
South Fork
Osage
Crow Feather

Figure 1: Location of Milford School District (M) in Relation to Prehistoric Indian Villages

section contains three subdivisions. These are the protohistoric period, during which the first contacts with Whites occurred, and then the successive jurisdictions of French and Spanish governments.

1.2.1 The Protohistoric Period.

The name "Indian" was given by Christopher Columbus to the inhabitants he encountered across the Atlantic in the newly discovered lands. This label spread through Europe with the news of vast unexplored lands. The next one and three quarters centuries are known as the protohistoric period of Indian culture. At the beginning of this period the Osage peoples migrated in a southwesterly direction and settled in Midwest State, unaware of Columbus' voyage.

In the subsequent decades, a number of expeditions were launched by seafaring nations. Of these, Spain and France were first to penetrate the central Mississippi Valley, the territory of the Osage, and the environs of modern Milford. Our task remains to trace the convergent paths of these White and Indian peoples.

The prospect of finding a western trade route to China spurred Jacques Cartier's expedition to the new world. No such route was found, but Cartier did discover the mouth of the St. Lawrence river. Subsequent Frenchmen were to found the settlement of Quebec on the St. Lawrence, and explore much of the Great Lakes region which the river provided access to.

Hernado DeSoto left Spain in 1538 to return to the lands across the Atlantic. A seasoned veteran of Pizarro's conquest of Peru, DeSoto was driven by the lure of undiscovered riches to the north. With 600 soldiers and seven ships, DeSoto landed in Cuba, and then embarked for Florida. From there the expedition struck a northwesterly course following existing Indian trails. It is not clear whether DeSoto encountered any Osage, but his discovery of the Mississippi River in 1540 was near enough to Osage territory that stories of the conquistadors must have reached them via the trade network. DeSoto's impact on regional Indian culture was immediate and devastating:

> The introduction of a new element into the American scene about the turn of the sixteenth century (A.D. 1500) soon sent its stream of influence up and down the Mississippi Valley. In 1540 Hernando DeSoto penetrated to the Arkansas River and perhaps well into Midwest State. It may never be known how much DeSoto and his cruel army affected the Indians living in what is now southern Midwest State, but it seems probably that part of the rapid decline of the townspeople after DeSoto's appearance in A.D. 1540 can be laid indirectly, if not directly, at his feet. DeSoto brought immediate change in the existing provinces controlled by great towns by deposing the town leaders indiscriminately. But a more far-reaching effect was the introduction of European diseases which occasioned alarm in the Indians that could not be dispelled. Uncompromising fears and flight to hinterland areas by family and clan groups may have completed the breakdown of the great towns that was begun by the violence and disruption attending DeSoto's angry march. Priest and shaman attempting to exorcise the new disease devils were themselves possessed and consumed. Systems of trade, protective agreements with neighbors, the integrated divisions of labor effecting a well-balanced and efficient supply of food--all disintegrated, adding to the chaos. The great towns were abandoned or reduced and disorganized. (Chapman and Chapman, 1964, p. 81)

DeSoto died along the banks of the Mississippi two years later. Another Spanish expedition by Coronado that same year began in today's Mexico and ascended to the western border of the Mississippi basin. The Osage and other tribes of the central Mississippi Valley were spared direct contact with Coronado and were thus granted more than a century of respite from European influence in the remainder of the protohistoric period. However, events on both sides of the Atlantic were soon enough to ripple through Indian ways of living.

Spanish conquistadors and colonists relied on slaves for conducting expeditions and founding settlements. This practice brought West Africans, in bondage, to the new lands from the very earliest times. Only a score of years after DeSoto, slave trade was becoming a large international enterprise, in spite of official disapproval. The following account illustrates some of the economic advantages of this arrangement:

> A source of almost unlimited gain existed in the slave trade between Africa and the Spanish settlements in America and the West Indies. Negro slaves had early been introduced from the West Coast of Africa into the Spanish settlements in America. The Spanish government, however, disapproved of slave trading and only allowed Negroes to be imported into the American colonies in small numbers, by favored traders, and on payment of a heavy duty. It was well-known that the Spanish colonists in the West Indies, Mexico, and South America were eager to buy slaves whether their home governments approved it or not, and that Negroes would probably bring a good price and a ready sale if brought there.
>
> In 1562 John Hawkins of Plymouth, with another captain, fitted out three vessels, sailed away to the coast of the Sierre Loone, captured or brought about 300 Negroes, and then made their way to the colony of Santo Domingo, into which they pretended to have been driven by stress of weather....The king of Spain, in addition to his opposition to the trade in Negro slaves, wanted no intrusion of English traders into the Spanish colonies. Nevertheless, Hawkins was soon again on the coast of Africa and then in the West Indies with some hundred Negroes, and by threatening the governors and small military garrisons at various Spanish ports he again disposed of his slaves. (Cheyney, 1919, cited in Marriot, 1974, pp. 118-19)

A more accessible and less costly supply of slaves was to be found among Indians who were conscripted, along with Black Africans, to perform the hard labor shunned by the Spaniards.

Spanish dominance as a world power began to decline after the English defeat of the Armada in 1588. The English soon began colonizing the northeastern seaboard. Jamestown was founded in 1607 and Plymouth in 1620. Later we shall have much to say about one Pilgrim family whose descendants settled in Milford at the beginning of the 19th century. The influx and influence of the French in the central Mississippi Valley began about a century and a half after DeSoto's discovery. In the interim, French explorers, fishermen, and traders combed the St. Lawrence River. In 1540, Ignatius Loyola founded the Jesuit order and soon thereafter missionaries spread among the native Americans preaching salvation. In 1608, the French settled Quebec and this became a base camp for exploration, trade, and evangelism. It fell upon the French to rediscover the Mississippi River 133 years after DeSoto. Samuel Clemens, that veritable river philosopher, provides an interesting perspective on the intervening protohistoric period:

> ...after DeSoto glimpsed the river, a fraction short of a quarter of a century elapsed, and then Shakespeare was born, lived a trifle more than a half of a century--then died; and when he had been in his grave considerably more than a half of a century, the second White man saw the Mississippi.
> (Life on the Mississippi)

The second Whites to lay eyes on the Mississippi were the Quebec born Louis Joliet and the French Jesuit Pere James Marquette. The latter recorded the news of his selection to participate in the Joliet expedition in his journal dated December 8, 1672:

> The feast of the Immaculate Conception of the Holy Virgin, whom I have always invoked since coming to this country of the Ottawas, to obtain from God the favor of being enabled to visit the nations who dwell along the river Mississippi, this very day, was precisely that on which M. Joliet arrived with

> orders from Count de Frontenac, our Governor, and M. Talon, our Intendant, to go with him on his discovery. I was all the more delighted at this news, because I saw my plans about to be accomplished, and found myself in the happy necessity of exposing my life for the salvation of all those tribes, and especially the Illinois, who when I was at St. Espirit, had begged me very earnestly to bring the word of God among them.
> (Cited in Houck, 1908, p. 158)

After a winter of preparations, Marquette later wrote:

> We took all possible precautions, that if our enterprise was hazardous, it should not be foolhardy. For this reason we gathered all possible information from the Indians who had frequented those parts, and from their accounts traced a map of all the new country, marking down the rivers which we were to sail; the names of the nations through which we were to pass; the course of the great river, and what direction we should take when we got to it. (Cited in Houck, 1908, p. 159)

In the Spring of 1673, Marquette and Joliet, with five other Frenchmen, set out in two birch bark canoes along the shore of Lake Michigan. With provisions and trade items, they reached the most distant outpost of French exploration, a Miami village in Wisconsin. As Joliet explained his mission to the Indians, Marquette recorded it:

> He (Joliet) had been sent on the part of Monsieur, our governor, to discover new countries, and I on the part of God to make clear to them the lights of the gospel....and that we had occasion for two guides to conduct us on our route. On asking them to accord this to us, we made them a present, which made them very civil, and at the same time they voluntarily answered us by a present in return, which was a mat to serve us as a bed during our voyage. The next day, which was the 10th of June, two Miami, whom they gave us for guides, embarked with us in sight of all the inhabitants, who could not but be astonished to see seven Frenchmen, alone in two canoes, daring to undertake an expedition so extraordinary and so hazardous.
> (Cited in Houck, 1908, pp. 159-60)

Their guides led them to the Wisconsin River, and the Frenchmen alone descended the barely navigable channel. On the 17th of June, 1673, Marquette and Joliet reached the Mississippi River and continued southward. Sometime in July the explorers passed very close to present day Milford. Marquette described the native inhabitants they encountered:

> Everywhere (in the Indian village) we were presented with belts, garters, and other articles made of the hair of bears and cattle, dyed red, yellow, and gray. These are all the rarities they possess....The Captains (chiefs) are distinguished from the warriors by wearing red scarfs. These are made, with considerable skill, from the hair of bears and wild cattle. They paint their faces with red ochre....Their garments consist only of skins; the women are clad very modestly and very becomingly. (Cited in Marriot, 1974, pp. 59-60)

Little description of the "Ouchage" (Osage) is found in Marquette's journal. As the explorers continued southward, they reached the stretch of Mississippi that DeSoto had gazed upon a century and a third earlier. Continuing downstream, Marquette and Joliet were surprised to find traces of European culture for "unexpectedly they met Indians armed with guns, knives, and hatchets, wearing garments of cloth, and carrying gunpowder in thick glass flasks" (cited in Houck, 1908, p. 162). Truly, the protohistoric period had ended, and the Indian way of life was beginning to change.

1.2.2 The Cross and Fleur-de-lis.

Within a decade of Marquette and Joliet's voyage, the northern reaches of the Mississippi had been discovered by another missionary, Father Louis Hennepen. Marquette returned to Crow's Feather to establish an Indian Mission. However, sickness forced the priest to return north. Like DeSoto, Marquette perished somewhere along the banks of the great river. In 1682, an expedition led by Robert Cavalier de LaSalle floated down the Mississippi all the way to its mouth on the Gulf of

Mexico. With due pomp and circumstance, LaSalle claimed the entire Mississippi Valley for France. It was named Louisiana in honor of King Louis XIV. These proceedings were later recorded in the mother country:

> On the 12th day of March, M. de la Salle having come in sight of Kapaha about ten o'clock in the morning with two of his canoes, and having landed on an island opposite the said village to await the rest of the company, judged by the cries and noise and the war songs that he heard in the village, that the savages were preparing to fight, and therefore caused a fort to be built on the said island, where, after some conferences, Kapaha, chief of the village, came to him, bearing the pipe of peace and accompanied by six of his principal savages. Peace being concluded, M. de la Salle went with his men and the said savages to the said village, where he was received with all possible demonstration of joy and affection both public and individual, and in the midst of which the Akansas having asked aid from him against their enemies, he answered them, both of himself and in the language of the Illinois which was understood by some of them, and also by one of the interpreters who accompanied him, that it was not from him that they should expect protection, but from the greatest prince in the world, on the part of whom he had come to them and to all the other nations that live along the river and in its neighborhood: he had come to offer to all who would obey him, all the advantages which so many people enjoy who have had recourse to his power and many of whom were not unknown to them: and after explaining to them what they were to expect and the duties to which this obedience pledged them, all having received his speech with acclamation, the said Sieur declared to them besides that in order to give an external sign of the sincerity of their promises it was necessary to erect a column where should be painted the arms of his Majesty and their express consent to recognize him as master of their land: that in return they would be under the protection of his Majesty and in the shadow of this column which bore the signs of his dominion, and that all who should attack them would have to combat his great might and his subjects the French, who would avenge any injury which might be done them in the persons of their brothers.
>
> This proposition being received by all, while the ceremonies were being continued with which these nations are accustomed to confirm their alliances, the said Sieur de la Salle sent M. de Tonty, commander of a brigade, to prepare the column, which was done in a short time. The cross was painted with the arms of France, and this inscription: Louis le Grand, roy de France et de Navarre, regne le 13 Mars 1682. M. de la Tonty with all the Frenchmen carrying arms and the savages of the suite of M. de la Salle, bore it from the camp to the public

> place of the village; here the Reverend Father Zenobe Membre, a Recollect missionary, intoned the O crux, ave, spes unica, and walked three times around the place, each time singing Exaudit te Dominus and crying three times Vive le Roy, after which at the discharge of musketry, they erected the column in repeating the cries Vive le Roy and near it the said Sieur de la Salle took his stand and pronounced in a loud voice in French, holding in his hand his commission:
>
> In the name of the most high, mighty, invincible, and victorious Prince, Louis le Grand, by the Grace of God, King of France and Navarre, fourteenth of that name, this thirteenth day of March, one thousand six hundred and eighty-two, with consent of the nation of the Akansas, assembled at the village of Kapaha and present in that place, both in their name and in that of their allies, I, in virtue of his Majesty's commission of which I am the bearer and which I hold in my hand, ready to show it to all whom it may concern, have taken and do now take possession, in the name of his majesty, his heirs and successors to his crown, of the country of Louisiana and all the lands, provinces, countries, peoples, nations, mines, ores, ports, harbors, seas, straits, and roadsteads. ("Proces Verbel", Cited in Houck, 1908, pp. 164-5)

When LaSalle laid claim to Louisiana, the Osage and hundreds of other tribes in the Mississippi Valley unknowingly became subject to policies and customs originating far across the Atlantic. The mutual interest of Indians and French in commercial trade permitted French assimilation among native American peoples. A number of LaSalle's "voyageurs" remained in Louisiana to take advantage of these trade opportunities. A trading post was established at Crow's Feather and later at the site of the ancient city, Eagle's Nest. As trade was extended throughout the basin, Crow Feather and Eagle's Nest became thriving French settlements. Before the 17th century ended, the province of Louisiana had its first governor, and a capitol in the settlement at Biloxi, Mississippi.

England and France were engaged in a series of wars on both continents between 1690 and 1713. These conflicts were concluded by the Peace of Utrecht which had France ceding to England the North American lands of Nova Scotia and the Hudson Bay Territory. Acadians and other French colonists displaced in the north, resettled in the middle and lower Mississippi Valley. The first trade with the Osage began at this time and was conducted from the French settlements at Crow's Feather and Eagle's Nest. Trade increased with the southward migration of French, and the founding of New Orleans in 1718 facilitated French and Osage interaction in the middle valley. Trade had been an important facet of Osage culture long before the Whites. While French traders generally enjoyed good relations with the Osage, trading with an Osage enemy or commercial rival could cost a Frenchman his life. One highly valued commodity, the Indian slave, was among the earliest exchanges:

> The Osages frequently raided the Panis-Noirs and other neighboring tribes to take horses and slaves, which the Illinois French traders were so eager to obtain that they supplied arms to the Osages and their neighbors. The French government disapproved of this traffic and ordered it stopped, but without success. Pani slaves became so common that the French adopted the names of Pani and slave as synonymous....Later, as more traders supplied the Osages and other tribes with guns, other tribes suffered. The John Law colony to the south offered a good market for the slaves; according to La Harpe, the colonists first attempted to open up the slave trade directly with the Mentos, but the jealous Osages stopped this. In fact, says La Harpe, in 1721, when Richard (Pichart) and five Frenchmen were sent to obtain horses from the Mentos, they were plundered by a party of Osages. Despite this, the French party succeeded in reaching and wintering among the Mentos, returning in the Spring of 1722. As these Osage raids increased, the Panis-Noirs, Wichitas, and others moved north into Kansas...where they in turn began to raid Spanish Texas to get horses captured from them by the Osages.
> (Cited in Marriot, 1974, pp. 125-6)

It is likely that slave trade was conducted in Milford as early as 1722, for an Indian trail in a map of that year links an Osage village to the French settlements at Eagle's Nest and Crow's Feather. From these points goods were shipped south to New Orleans, which became the Capitol of Louisiana in 1732. In years ahead, this Indian path became known as the "Great Trail" as pioneers explored the west. When Milford became United States territory in 1804, the "Great Trail" was renamed Carlton Road. The warriors that traversed it were U. S. soldiers stationed at Fort Carlton who defended Metropolitan City from, among other threats, Indian attacks. In the second half of the 20th century, Carlton Road became an attendance boundary for assignment of elementary school pupils in the Milford School District.

The Peace of Utrecht provided a three decade respite between the English and French, but then hostilities between these countries resumed with fervor in another succession of wars between 1742 and 1763. Because of its more intensive colonization efforts and its greater military might, England was gaining ascendency on the North American continent. England's two million colonists in 1750 outnumbered the French 25:1. The final North American conflict between the two European nations, known as the French and Indian War, resulted in a hard-won victory by England over France and her native American allies, which included the Osage.[4] The French Fort Duquesne was sieged by British General Braddock with a force of 1,300 soldiers. The French and Indians devastated the British army. Later when William Pitt was appointed England's war minister, Fort Duquesne fell. Fort Duquesne later became known as Pittsburgh. In 1759, General Wolfe and 9,000 English soldiers converged on Quebec and captured the 150 year old French city. British victories were also realized in European wars when England and her ally Prussia defeated France, Austria, Russia, Sweden, and Saxony to end the Seven Years War. In the war settlement, France ceded all of her North American lands. England received Canada and the eastern region of Louisiana. The western territories of the Mississippi basin were turned over to France's ally, Spain, which was better able to hold and govern the vast unexplored west. The territorial changes brought about during the French regime are shown on the maps in Figure 2.

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[4] Osage military support of the French was limited to several small war parties. Attempts by both France and England to enlist Osage support is thought to be responsible for dissention among Osage leaders, and subsequent "division of the Big Osage into separate political entities a few years later." (Chapman, 1974, p. 81)

Insert Figure 2 About Here

Spain did not assume active control of its new territory until 1769. In the interim, there was considerable French migration from English to Spanish lands. The French way of life was relatively undisturbed, and trade relations with native Americans continued. The Louisiana Fur Company, owned by Pierre Liguest, was granted exclusive trading rights in the central Mississippi Valley. Commercial opportunities prompted Liguest to establish a trading settlement quite near Milford. In the year 1763, he found a suitable location which was recorded:

> I have found a situation where I intend establishing a settlement which, in the future, shall become one of the most beautiful cities in the world. (Cited in Violette, 1918, p. 15)

A year later construction of Metropolitan City began. While Liguest was building his own home he had extensive interaction with the Osage's closest ally:

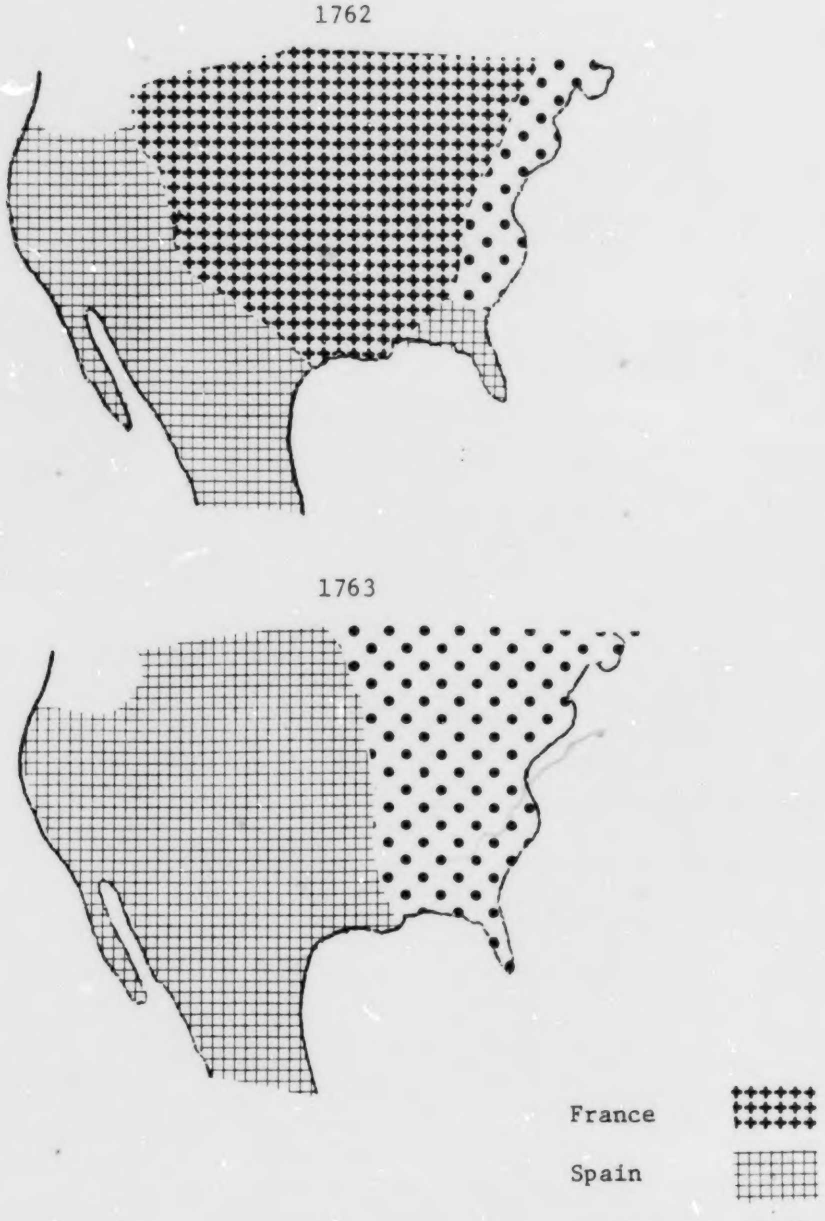

1762
1763
France
Spain
England

Figure 2: Territorial Changes Brought About by the Peace of Paris, 1763

> When Mr. Liguest had his plans matured to commence the erection of his house, he encountered a peaceful, but most untoward, frightful, annoying, and expensive occurrence, that taxed all his patience, prudence, courage, wisdom and perseverance to overcome, but which developed his character and left it to the admiration of posterity....A village of Indians, residing beyond this tract, having heard of the advent of the merchant, broke up their winter quarters and came on a begging excursion, to the number of one hundred and fifty warriors, with all their families, outnumbering the Europeans five to one, and in the most confiding, friendly and familiar manner located their huts as near as possible to their new acquaintances, manifesting the utmost pleasure and contentment in their new homes, and exhibiting their willingness to participate in all the labors and enjoyments the place afforded.
>
> It is a remarkable incident, worthy of memory, that the first cellar ever excavated in Metropolitan City was done by the squaws of this band, and the earth removed to a low place at considerable distance, and payment made for it in beads and other ornaments.
>
> The inconvenience of their presence was soon felt, and their departure requested and refused. They said, "they were like the ducks and buzzards, who sought open water to rest and refresh themselves on, and they desired no better place than they now enjoyed.
>
> The prudent Liguest, however, proceeded to no violence against them, but, having supplied them with provisions, he threatened them with the vengeance of the French troops stationed to the south, which soon frightened them to a departure in peace. Nor did they ever return or manifest any resentment against him or his people on that account. Being relieved from their presence and confirmed in their friendship, he prosecuted the building of his house and store, enlarged the circuit of the village, and gave encouragement to emigrants, without fear or opposition. (Shepard, 1870, pp. 12-13)

The settlement of Metropolitan City grew and by 1766 had a population of 300. The early settlers pondered the numerous ancient Indian earthworks all around Metropolitan City. The appelation "Mound City" is a surviving reminder of the Woodland Period nearly 2,000 years earlier.

Formal French regional dominance ended in 1767 when a Spanish expedition explored upper Louisiana with the intention of protecting the newly acquired lands from English traders and military. In 1768, Fort San Carlos was established on the Sauk River within a few miles of modern Milford. Soon the Osage were to become subjected to Spanish authority.

1.2.3 Milford During the Spanish Regime.

Spain's acquisition of western Louisiana provided a strategic territorial buffer between its Mexican possessions and the English holdings in the east and north. In the year 1767, a Spanish military expedition marched south from Metropolitan City and through Milford along the Great Trail. The troups built a fort on the Sauk River at a point strategic to control of trade with western Indians, and to the defense of Liguest's settlement, Metropolitan City. The portion of Louisiana upon which Milford lay was named Spanish Illinois and in 1770 that territory was divided into five districts. At once Milford became a part of the Liguest District. On the northeastern seaboard in that same year the "Boston Massacre" was evidence of the mounting colonial and British tensions. The beginning of the American Revolution was still five years away.

It was in Spain's interest to promote regional stability in Spanish Illinois to insure the security of its southwesterly territory. Spain strictly honored English territorial claims to the East, while trying to govern the disgruntled French in ways not to evoke upheaval. As a result, the French way of life at Metropolitan City changed little during the Spanish regime. The same cannot be said for the Osage. Spain desired positive relations with the Indians in Louisiana. As Houck (1909) indicates, the formal instructions given the Lietenant Governor Don Pedro Piernas in 1769 were to:

> "...Induce them (Indians) to peace and humanity towards the English," and Spanish traders were strictly prohibited from entering English territory, certainly an injunction in strong contrast with the English practice of invading all adjacent territory. Only traders of "good repute,"...shall be allowed to trade with the Indians, and no trading monopoly shall be conceded to any trader, but this rule afterwards was not always observed. Indians, he ordained, visiting "Metropolitan City shall experience good treatment" and shall be supplied at the expense "of his Majesty with bread and rice for two days." He expressly declares, by order of the King, that no "Indian slaves shall be allowed in his state, not even those of hostile tribes," a rule widely different from that observed at that time in the English colonies, where even in puritanical New England it was considered as eminently just that Indians should be held in slavery. Indians held in slavery under the French government he ordered to be liberated. (Vol. I, p. xix)

However, the Spanish found it necessary to take exception in the case of the Osage whose unpredictability vexed government officials and French traders alike. In 1773, Spanish and Osage tensions were increased when trade was banned with the Osage in Spanish Illinois, and then Iroquoian tribes were enlisted to war against them. One Osage village relocated to avoid these hostilities.

Tensions were also increasing between Britain and her New England colonies. The Boston Tea Party had colonists masquerading as Indians as they commited acts of defiance against England. The Mother Country tried to strengthen its grip on the American colonies with legislation known as the Intolerable Acts. In response, the New Englanders convened the First Continental Congress. The American Revolution began the year following along with the Battles of Lexington and Bunker Hill. The

Declaration of Independence, in 1776, made explicit the reasons for battlefield activities, and articulated a set of principles which included this famous statement:

> We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness.

The coexistence of the institution of slavery and basic principles such as these was sure to have been a source of dissonace to many Americans. Britain challenged colonial independence and the War of the Revolution continued, exerting great hardship on General Washington's American Militia. 1777, the same year the Articles of Confederation were drawn up, a turning point in the war occurred when General Burgoyne and all of his British troops surrendered to the Americans at Saratoga. The French, who until then had been secretly supplying the Americans, openly supported the Revolution by a treaty of alliance, in 1778. The next year Spanish support was also thrown to the American cause.

Such alliances and conflicts among Whites had turbulent effects among many Indian peoples, as Chapman (1974) describes when Spain and France became allies:

> When Spain joined France in 1779 in the war against England, money, gunpowder, and cloth were passed secretly to the Americans via Spanish-American possessions, making this decade an extremely unsettled one for the Indians. Certainly it must have been very confusing to the Osage for their allegiance and aid was sought through blandishments and presents of French and English traders and the coersive actions of Spanish officials. Since both France and Spain were helping the Americans in their fight for independence, England attempted to obtain all the Indian aid possible. This kept the tribes in Upper Louisiana stirred up and the situation was not much relieved by the end of the war in 1783. (1974, p. 85)

As the Revolutionary War continued, a 12 year old boy named Elias Chester enlisted in the ranks of the American militia and served as a fifer. A quarter of a century later he would become one of Milford's first settlers and most prominent citizens.

Although the battles of the Revolution were waged far to the east of Milford, the Spanish Illinois territory was not left unscathed. The strategic and commercial advantages of Metropolitan City prompted the British along with their northern Indian allies, to lay seige upon Liguest's city in 1780. Spaniards stationed in a newly constructed fort near today's Milford passed through the school district in defense of Metropolitan City. The following dispatch to the Spanish Governor in New Orleans tells of the battle:

> Your Excellency: While we were under the belief that the English had been falsely charged with the atrocities commited in North America upon persons of all classes in that continent by the hands of the various savage tribes who followed their banners, there was given a most amazing proof of the facts by Captain Esse at the head of three hundred regular troups and nine hundred savages which left not the least doubt that this nation, having forgotten how to make war according to the system practiced in Europe, does not desire to be false in America to the title with which an author of ability has characterized it.
>
> Captain Don Fernando de Leyba of the infantry regiment of Louisiana was commandant at the post of Metropolitan City; and having received information that a body of one thousand two hundred men, composed partly of savages and partly of troops, was being drawn up for an attack upon the town under the orders of Captain Esse, he fortified it as well as its open situation permitted. He built, at the expense of the inhabitants, a wooden tower at one of the ends of the town, overlooking it, and placed therein five cannon. In addition to these he had some cannon with which he defended the two intrenchments that he threw up at the other two extreme points. These were manned by twenty-nine veteran soldiers and two hundred and eighty-one countrymen. The enemy arrived May twenty-sixth, at one o'clock in the afternoon, and began the attack upon the post from the north side, expecting to meet no

opposition; but they found themselves unexpectedly repulsed by the militia which guarded it. A vigorous fire was kept up on both sides, so that by the service done by the cannon on the tower where the aforesaid commander was, the defenders at least succeeded in keeping off a band of villians who, if they had not opportunely been met by this bold opposition on our part, would not have left a trace of our settlements. There were also to be heard the confusion and the lamentable cries of the women and children who had been shut up in the house of the commandant, defended by twenty men under the lieutenant of infantry, Don Francisco Cartabona; the dolorous echoes of which seemed to inspire in the besieged an extraordinary valor and spirit, for they urgently demanded to be permitted to make a sally. The enemy at last, seeing that their force was useless against such resistance, scattered about over the country, where they found several farmers, who, with their slaves, were occupied in the labors of the field. If these hungry wolves had contented themselves with destroying the crops, if they had killed all the cattle which they could not take with them, this act would have been looked upon as a consequence of the war, but when the learned world (mundo filosofico) shall know that this desperate band slaked their thirst in the blood of innocent victims, and sacrificed to their fury all whom they found, cruelly destroying them and committing the greatest atrocities upon some poor people who had not other arms than those of the good faith in which they lived, the English nation, from now on, may add to its glorious conquests in the present war that of having barbarously inflicted by the hands of the base instruments of cruelty, the most bitter torments which tyranny has invented. The number of dead, wounded, and prisoners is detailed in the report, and information is constantly looked for as to the end of the prisoners, which is believed to be as unfortunate as that of their companions, perhaps more so.

GENERAL STATEMENT

WHITES			SLAVES		
Dead	Wounded	Prisoners	Dead	Wounded	Prisoners
15	6	57	7	1	13

This information is sent Your Excellency for your guidance. I shall take care to report to Your Excellency any news henceforth, not only of this post but also of all others in the colony.

Our Lord preserve the valuable life of Your Excellency. Nueva Orleans, August 18, 1780.

Your Excellency, your most obedient servant kisses Your Excellency's hand. (Cited in Houck, 1909, pp. 167-9)

The signing of the Treaty of Paris in 1783 removed Great Britain from the boundaries of the 13 American colonies, and left only trading posts west of the Appalachians. Spain maintained its western territories which now included the entire Gulf of Mexico shoreline. Britain was unable to forestall the westward migration of Americans lured by Spanish land grants offered to settlers. Free land was a prospect particularly attractive to Catholics who already adhered to the official Spanish religion. Between 1780 and 1790, the White population west of the Appalachians increased from 2,000 to 100,000 with the likes of Daniel Boone pioneering the westward trek. Much of Milford was mapped in this decade. Passage of the Land Ordinance Act of 1785 made for more orderly survey and sale of western lands. The first federal subsidy to education was provided for by this act with the proceeds from the sale of one section of each township designated to support schools. About the same time, a group of French inhabitants of Metropolitan City founded a settlement called Gentle Valley some 15 miles southeast of Metropolitan City, and only five miles from Milford. An early description of Gentle Valley was penned by the Spanish Governor Zenon, in a report on "The settlements of his Catholic Majesty in Ylinoa (Illinois)":

> The village of Gentle Valley is located southeast of the city (Metropolitan City) inland and distant from it about five leagues. Its population consists of persons of both sexes, including some American plantations. Its cultivation has resulted quite advantageously for some years back and said habitants are very attentive to work, which gives hope that their children will be good planters. There is no parish priest in the village, which has plantations in its neighborhood. It would not be a bad thing to send them a priest of the Irish nation. He could also serve the small village of Cypress Swamp which is near by and whose population consists of (no number given in MS) persons. All the young

> men of this last settlement are hunters, although there are also good planters. It is about eleven years since the village of Gentle Valley has been settled by the people of Metropolitan City, who at the present time get a great part of their provisions from this town.
> (Cited in Garraghan, 1923, p. 13)

Several years later, a description of life in Gentle Valley hints of the roots of community conservatism characteristic of the Milford School District 150 years later:

> Gentle Valley is the granary of this small capital (Metropolitan City). It is therefrom that comes the small amounts of grain which the merchants export to New Orleans and which they take only to fill out their cargoes when they have peltries in sufficient number. Situated in the interior of the country, Gentle Valley might have enjoyed the most agreeable of positions if the first-comers among the habitants had not sacrificed everything to the proximity of a stream, in which there is water only six months during the year. They would live in abundance, could they exchange at a reasonable rate the products of their fields for clothing which they obtain with difficulty. The raising of tobacco which the traders have to obtain from Lower Louisiana or Kentucky, would offer them this opportunity; but like our French peasants, they follow the routine of their forefathers and are the enemy of all innovations. (Cited in Garraghan, 1923, p. 14)

The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 detailed procedures for the admission of new states to the Union. One of its provisions prohibited the practice of slavery in newly admitted states. In that same year, the Philadelphia convention was called to revise the Articles of Confederation. Delegates such as Benjamin Franklin and Alexander Hamilton set about to resolve the many differences between the states and to forge a union. One of the concessions made to the delegations from South Carolina and Georgia granted a 20 year extension to the practice of slave trade in those states. The United States constitution was ratified the next year.

In the preamble to the constitution, the clause "provide for the common defense" was for the most part a reference to Indians in the western territory. With George Washington's election as President in 1789, Americans began to have a large impact on Indian life west of the Appalachians. While Washington's troops were trying to secure midwestern lands from Indian threats, Spain began exerting even more pressure on the Osage. In the year 1790, the Spanish governor requested that two Osage chiefs be sent to New Orleans as hostages to insure Osage compliance with Spanish policy. The Osage refused and intensified their raids on traders along the Sauk River. Spain in turn, recruited other Indian tribes to counter the Osage threats as Chapman describes:

> The Spanish attempted to incite all the tribes surrounding the Osage to go to war with them, and were successful in getting the Sac and Fox to send several war parties into Osage country. Five Osages were reported killed in these raids. By 1793 greater pressure was put on the Osage. All trade on the Sauk River and its tributary, the West River, was cut off, war was officially declared, and the surrounding tribes were urged to war against them. In the same year the Delaware and Shawnee were asked to move to Upper Louisiana south of Metropolitan City and assist in the war. The Iowa, Sac, and Fox were sent orders to refuse passage of the Osage to trade on the Northwest River. Everything was in readiness for a hard blow against the Osage by all the tribes surrounding them, including those as far away as Mexico. Many Indians were to be led by Europeans under secret orders of the Spanish rulers. By the time the attack was organized it was August and as the Osage were expected to leave for their fall hunt before the attack could be made, it was postponed until the next year. (1974, p. 87)

The Osage coped with Spanish induced terror and harrassment by relocating their villages further from Metropolitan City, but also closer to Spain's Mexican territory. When a French trader named Andre Devtreux proposed a plan to insure regional peace, Spanish authorities granted his Company permission to construct a trading post quite near a large

Osage village, and to conduct exclusive trade with the Osage. Raids and attacks by enemy tribes, however, threatened Devareux's business success. Unable to stop Osage retaliation, Devareux sought to weaken the leadership of the great Osage Chief, Clermont. Chapman (1974) describes the tactics employed:

> Clermont's standing was then undermined by Devareux through arrangements to give presents and medals to other "chiefs" in order to raise their power and prestige. On his return (from a retaliatory raid) Clermont found that he could not resume his position of leadership. Therefore he and his followers separated from the others and migrated southward. (p. 90)

The ability to symbolically manipulate Osage social organization was seized upon readily by the Spanish. The brief note sent from Metropolitan City to New Orleans in 1796 illustrates official participation in a practice that defiled Osage culture and tradition:

> In order to animate more and more to our devotion the Osages ..., there are needed for the present:
>
> 15 large medals
> 15 small ones with their corresponding ribbons
> 5 flags with the Burgundy Cross
>
> I find them necessary and I shall be indebted to Your Excellency to dispose that they be delivered.
> (Cited in Marriot, 1974, p. 171)

In spite of his divisive tactics on the Osage, Devareux was able to mend relations with the Osage and continued his trade monopoly from 1795 to 1801. About midpoint in the Devareux contract, a letter exchanged between Spanish officials describes the extent of trade between Devareux and the Osage as well as some of the risks involved:

> The private trade of the two Osage tribes belongs exclusively to Andre Devareux. Among these two tribes can be counted 1200 men, who have their villages on the shores of the West River. During good years, they trade in both villages about 600 packs of furs at the rate of 40 pesos apiece, which amounts to 24,000 pesos. It is toward the furtherance of this trade that the merchants of this district direct all their ambition. It is often very damaging to them, since a slight reason causes the Indians to leave the hunt and nothing at all makes them abandon their traders, after having received from them the best of their goods, leaving the rest to the discretion of their enemies, who generally rob them. On many occasions they compel the traders to an unjust and unequal exchange, maltreating them if they resist. But these vexations do not prevent the traders from returning next year to see others like them. (Cited in Marriot, 1974, p. 174)

Trade had long surpassed the trinkets and glass beads stage. Guns and ammunition, clothing and numerous other items of European origin were exchanged for Osage furs. Horses were introduced and the Osage grew in strength and influence.

In Washington's term as President, thousands of settlers flowed into Kentucky and Tennessee, which became states in 1792 and 1796 respectively. Spain finally conceded to Americans the "Right of Deposit" of trade items in Spanish New Orleans. In Europe, war broke out once more between France and England. When the United States signed the Jay Treaty in 1795, it avoided national bankruptcy by re-establishing trade with Great Britain. This was seen by the French, however, as a violation of the Treaty of Alliance with America's most important Revolutionary War ally. Washington was succeeded as President by John Adams and Devareux continued his profitable trade with the Osage in Spanish Illinois. A census taken by Spain of the Liguest District in 1796 classified the populations at Metropolitan City, Gentle Valley, and a three year old settlement called Cypress Swamp, 15 miles west of Milford. As this table shows, slavery was well established in the area:

	Whites	Free Mulattos	Free Negroes	Negro Slaves	Mulatto Slaves
Metropolitan City	651	34	8	197	85
Gentle Valley	178			7	
Cypress Swamp	113			11	

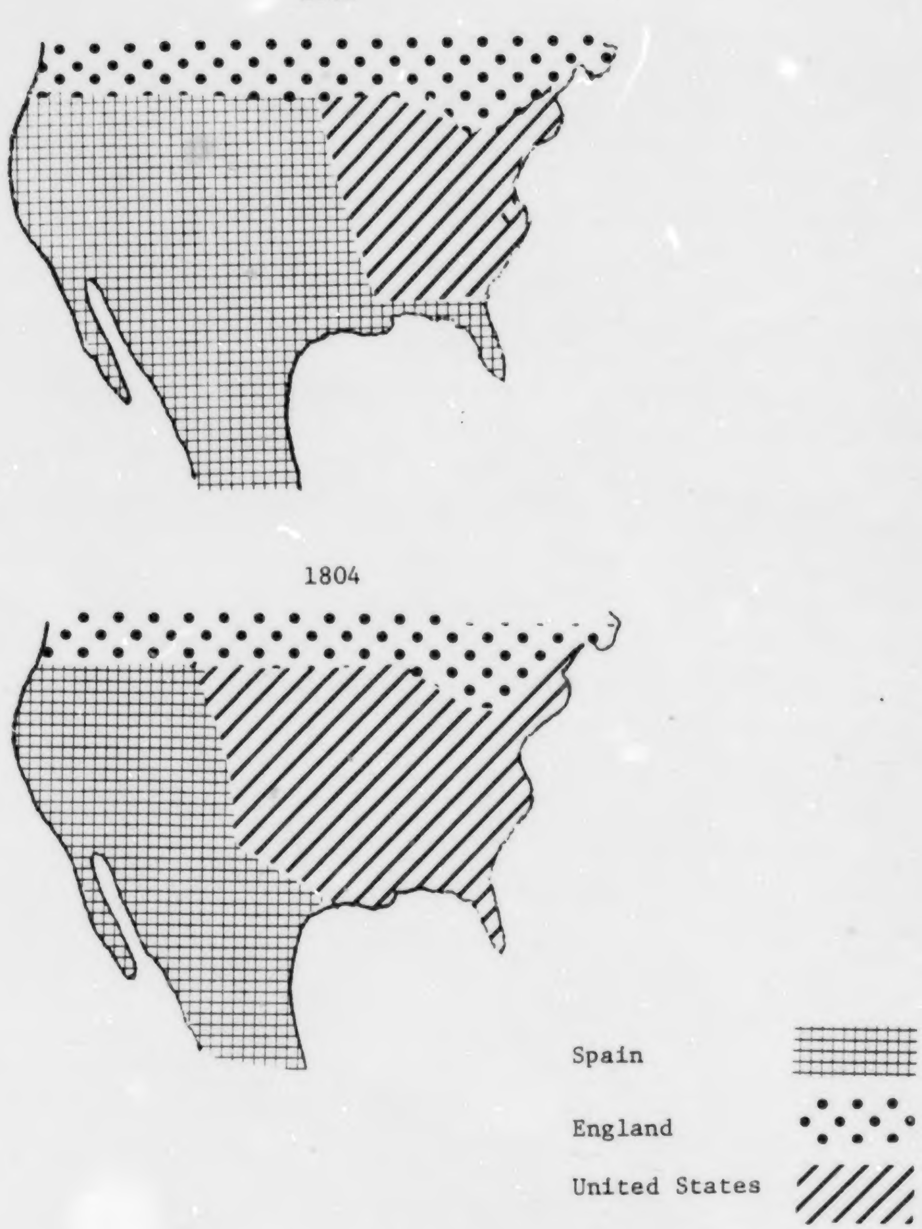
With the increasing encroachment of White settlers, the way of life was further disturbed by the depletion of the buffalo herds and beaver colonies once so plentiful in the region. The hostilities between Osage and other Indian tribes increased as tribes displaced by American settlers to the east began westward migration through Osage territory.

As the 18th century drew to a close, Devareux had been "adopted" by several important Osage clans, and his prestige and influence among the Osage had greatly increased. Such interdependence developed between Devareux and the Osage that when his exclusive trading rights were not renewed by Spain in 1802, and Devareux was forced to trade in more southerly regions, a large unit of the Osage tribe followed the Frenchman to the territory where he relocated his trade operations. With this most recent schism, the Osage existed in four autonomous units. During the three decades of Spanish control, the Osage had migrated, on the whole, in a southwesterly direction. Jefferson was now the President and Spanish power on both sides of the Atlantic had declined considerably. Spain retroceded Louisiana to France and Napoleon Bonaparte sold the vast tract of land to Jefferson. With the Louisiana Purchase, Milford became a part of United States territory in 1804, and the Osage became subject to the policies of yet a third foreign nation. The territorial changes brought about by the purchase of Louisiana are shown as Figure 3.

Insert Figure 3 About Here

1.2.4 Postscript to the Spanish Regime.

When Milford passed into American hands, the Osage were only two decades away from their first resettlements on a reservation, hundreds of miles away from their aboriginal habitat. In spite of numerous Indian wars and divisive influences by Whites, the Osage managed to adapt and survive--often at the expense of other Indian tribes weakened by the same European and American influences. Devareux's trade experience with the Osage and official tribe membership (which included half-breeds he had fathered) made Devareux the logical appointment by President Jefferson as official Indian Agent for Upper Louisiana. In this way, formal relations were established between the Osage and United States government. This opened the way for extensive contact with the Americans. Among the first to visit the Osage were the explorers Meriwether Lewis and William Clark. In 1808, Lewis became governor of Louisiana, and like his Spanish predecessor, imposed trade sanctions on the Osage to coerce their compliance. Clark built a trading post and military installation near one of the Osage villages and drew up a treaty in 1808 which permanently expelled the Osage from the vicinity of Metropolitan City and Milford.


1802

1804

Spain ▦
England ●
United States ▨

Figure 3: Territorial Changes Brought About by the Louisiana Purchase

The War of 1812 brought Algonquin tribes allied with the British into the region and traditional hostilities with the Osage were once more played out in the plains and woodlands. The lands ceded by the Osage by the Treaty of 1808 quickly became crowded with settlers and Indian tribes displaced by western expansion. Buffalo, bear, beaver, and other game became threateningly scarce. The site that is today's Milford was soon designated as a part of Liguest County in the Township of Gentle Valley. In a few years more Milford became a part of a newly admitted state called Midwest. Osage hunting and trading territory, now far to the southwest, became even more tenuous. Missionaries of the Catholic and Presbyterian faiths established missions among the Osage and the influence of White culture penetrated Osage customs and tradition to an even greater degree. Shortly after the admission of Midwest State into the Union, the Osage were to lose all their lands in the State. One of the last accounts of prereservation Osage life was found in an account to the Secretary of War:

> The Osage of the South occupy several villages. The principal village contains about 300 lodges or huts, and about 3000 souls. The lodges are generally from fifty to one hundred feet in length, and, irregularly arranged, they cover the surface of about one-half mile square. They are constructed of posts, mattings, bark, and skins. They have neither floors nor chimneys. The fire is built on the ground, in the centre of the lodge, and the family, and the guests, sit around in a circle upon skins or mats...
>
> Their (hunting) villages are nothing more than what they can remove at the shortest notice, one horse being capable of carrying house, household furniture, and children, all at one load. From this period of the year--(autumn) to the time of planting their corn, they generally reside together at one place, which they call their village. The rest of the time they separate into parties, and stay but a few days in a place, in proportion to the abundance or scarcity of the game where they happen to set up their lodges.

...The dress of the Indians consists of buckskins dressed, made into leggings, reaching to the hips; on their feet moccasins; and a buffalo robe or blanket about their shoulders. They shave off their hair close to their heads, except a line, about one-half inch wide, running around the head. The hair thus left, is cut about an inch long; within this line of hair, they fasten an ornament. Their ears are slit in several places, and filled with strings of beads. In addition to these, they have many other kinds of ornaments about their arms and legs.

Their houses are made of poles, arched from fifteen to twenty feet, covered by matting made of flags. At the sides they set up rived planks, lining the inside with neatly made flagg matting. They build several fires in the lodge, according to its size, or the number of wives the owner has. For a fire-place, they dig a hole about as big as a bushel-basket, leaving the smoke to ascend through a hole in the roof. Around the fire they spread their mats to sit or eat.

Having entered the lodge, and had our horses turned out, we took a humble seat around the fire. Presently there was brought to us a wooden bowl, filled with food made of corn... It is impossible to give you any idea of their cooking...

3rd February, 1822.

I live at present among the Osages, at one of their villages about fifty miles from Presbyterian Mission. This unhappy people live in low huts, covered with long grass or flag, but so badly put together that they leak considerably in a storm of rain. They have very little furniture, merely a few pots or kettles in which they boil their provisions. The art of cooking their meat in any way but boiling is unknown to them, except roasting it on a stick before the fire. They have very little variety in their food. Wild game, corn, dried pumpkins, and beans constitute about all on which they subsist. They have wooden bowls, out of which they eat, drink, wash themselves, and clean the dirt and filth about them. Neatness and cleanliness are qualities of which they are totally destitute...

All the laborious operations are performed by the women. They build their houses, cut and carry the timber and fuel. They dress all the skins, and make moccasins for themselves, their husbands, and their children...

A negotiation was said to have commenced with the Osage for the section of their country, between their Cherokee west boundary, and the rapids of the Southwest River. This section is said to include some of the finest lands in the territory.

...As relates to the Osages, it is next to impossible to ennumerate them correctly. I have made several attempts in vain. They are constantly removing from one village to another; quarrelling and intermarrying, so that the strength of no particular village can ever be estimated...

...The main dependence of each and every one of the tribes I have mentioned, for clothing and subsistence, is hunting. They would class all alike inrespect of their pursuits; therefore one general remark will suffice for all.

They raise annually small crops of corn, beans, and pumpkins, these they cultivate entirely with the hoe, in the simplest manner. Their crops are usually planted in April, and receive one dressing before they leave their villages for the summer hunt, in May. About the first week in August they return to their villages to gather their crops which have been left unhoed and unfenced all season.

Each family, if lucky, can save from ten to twenty bags of corn and beans, of a bushel and a half each, besides a quantity of dried pumpkins. On this they feast, with the dried meat saved in the summer, till September, when what remains is cashed, and they set out on the fall hunt, from which they return about Christmas. From that time, till sometime in February or March, as the season happens to be mild or severe, they stay pretty much in their villages, making only short hunting excursions occasionally, and during that time they consume the greatest part of their cashes. In February or March the spring hunt commences; first the bear, and then the beaver hunt. This they pursue until planting time, when they again return to their village, pitch their crops, and in May set out for the summer hunt, taking with them the residue, if any, of their corn, etc. This is the circle of an Osage life, here and there indented with war and trading expeditions; and thus it has been, with very little variations, these twelve years past. The game is very sensibly diminishing in the country, which the tribes inhabit; but has not yet become scarce. Its gradual diminuition seems to have had no other effect on the Indians, than to make them more expert and industrious hunters, and better warriors. They also acquire more skill in traffic, become more and more prone to practise fraud and deception in their commerce; are more and more dependent upon traders, and consequently more and more debased and degraded.

I have often noticed Indians observing, with much apparent interest, the effects of our agricultural skill, our fine gardens, abundant crops, and our numerous comforts and conveniences. A very sensible Osage, the Big Soldier, who had twice been to Washington, once said to me... "...you can do almost anything you choose. You whites possess the power of subduing almost every animal to your use. Everything about you is in

> chains, you are surrounded by slaves, you are slaves yourselves. I fear if I should exchange my pursuits for yours, I too should become a slave. Talk to my sons; perhaps they may be persuaded to adopt your fashions..."
>
> I will conclude this communication with the following proposition, which you may make use of as you think proper. It is for the Government, by compact with the Indians, to cause to be surveyed certain districts of the Indian lands, suitable for the purpose, in the same manner that the United States lands are surveyed; only I would recommend that the lines should be more distinctly marked.
> (Report of the Secretary of War, 1822, Cited in Marriot, (1974, pp. 205-208)

In 1825, the United States entered into a treaty that promised Osage lands to Cherokees living in the southeast United States. Osage were resettled on a western reservation. In 1837, Midwest State prohibited the Osage from crossing its borders. Violators were flogged and set back to the reservation, even as they tried to return to ancient burial sites to mourn their dead. The Osage had never been complacent about territorial encroachment, and their unrelenting hostilities towards settlers and other Indians provided a reason to appropriate more of their lands to accomodate the westward pressures. Shortly after the Civil War, the Osage reservation was ceded to settlers and the tribe was relocated on a new reservation in the State of Oklahoma.

In no area did White and Indian perspectives differ more consequentially than with the concept of territory. Ruth Benedict helps us to understand this divergence and one of the factors that permanently changed in three centuries a civilization that was more than 8,000 years in the making:

> But, after all, this was the crowning paradox: they bought and sold the land. Some mysterious association of ideas connected the little metal disks they carried, or the beads and

cloth they knew how to procure, with certain strangely limited squares and triangles of land along the riverbanks or on good prairie. There was more to this matter than one saw at first: to the white man, when those metal disks, or the cloth, or the beads, had once changed hands, it was not the use of the ground for the time being that passed to them, the earth itself was theirs forever. There was no logic to that. The cloth wore out, the beads dropped off and were broken, and the money passed back in barter to the white people; but the land was there as it was at first, and the white man owned it still.

Clearly there was no reasonableness in it. Did not the land belong to anyone who had the need or the will to work it? What had they to fear from that? Did they think anyone would insist on more than his share? But why would one seek to own more ground than one needed? Was it not enough to have land to plant the Indian corn and trap hare which one's own family could eat each year? Who would accumulate land he could not use? It was inconceivable. When one worked, one worked to some end; and here there was no end.

No, it was for some reason other than a livelihood that the white man "purchased land from one another." It was for prestige.

Now the Indian understood the high cost of prestige quite as comprehensively as the latest aspirant to the fold of the socially elect. The idea he could not attain to was that cornerstone of civilization--the value of more land than one can use. He did not perceive that one can show one's wealth in land...

Were there not other things to buy that one must always be dispossessing others of their ground-space in order to prove himself of great prestige? A song for instance. In far-removed areas of North America, in tribes whose handcraft and rules of life differed as Chinese from Egyptian, a man's song was private property. It may have cost twenty horses, or many beaded robes, or a heaped-up pile of blankets. Originally it had been imparted in a vision as a climax of fasting and perhaps self-torture. To sing it was to please the spirit who gave it, and to cause him to fulfill his promise of assistance. Men have come unscathed from the arrows of twenty enemies by the aid of a song. Poor boys have become chiefs through possessing one powerful song. Are they not worth good horses and beaded robes and blankets?

But land? Were the white men protected in battle by the square miles they owned, and had not even tilled? Or how could one become great through owning what was as free as the water or the air?...

> But no man sees the logic of another's symbols. After all, the Indian was foolishly bewildered by the white man's mania. They played, both of them, the identical game--the game of prestige. One played it with songs and visions and the giving of goods for counters; the other played it with land. And if the red man's counters were harmless and dispossessed no one of food or shelter, on the white man's counters have hung progress, and the glories of civilization.
>
> (Cited in Marriot, 1974, pp. 25-6)

2. THE CHESTER FAMILY: A PORTRAIT OF MILFORD'S FIRST SETTLERS

The name "Chester" is familiar to nearly everyone in the Milford District. Many citizens could tell a little about the U. S. Army General, Elias Chester, who built the old mansion on Carlton Road back in 1812. Quite a few families have toured the Chester home, now preserved as an historic site. Some of Milford's longer term residents were personally acquainted with some of the General's descendents who lived in the old house until 1962. In its heyday before the Civil War, the Chester Estate encompassed about a fourth of the area that is today's Milford School District. Presently, the old home stands on only a few acres, but all around it are reminders of Milford's founding family. Contemporary tribute to the past includes the Chester Hills subdivision, General Chester Park, and the Chester Village Shopping Center.

This chapter centers around the life and times of Elias Chester, and is a biographical account of the General, his ancestry and the circumstances of his settlement and life in Milford. The second part concentrates on the agricultural way of life in frontier Milford, and the institution of slavery as it was practiced by Elias Chester and other early Milford families. By organizing our historical narrative in this manner we hope to accomplish two general aims simultaneously. First, we hope to capture some of the ambience from the period of Milford's pioneers and early settlers while exploring the circumstances attending the birth of the Milford Community. Second, we would like to provide an historical reference point for later analyses of community structure and race relations by examining their antecedents in antebellum Milford.

2.1 Elias Chester

In spite of Elias Chester's prominence as a military and civic leader, it is surprising how little has been written about the General. Two unpublished documents provide the best biographical material available. The first of these is a geneology by Jessop (1927) titled, "General Elias Chester: His Ancestors and Descendents." The second is a short manuscript by Brockoff (1962) called, "The Chester Saga." In addition, brief biographical sketches of Elias Chester have been published in Scharf's (1883) History of Metropolitan City and County and by Ryan (1955) in the Bulletin of the Midwest State Historical Society. Additional sources of information include the Metropolitan Gazette newspaper from the 1840's and an historical document produced by Milford's first church. As our efforts now become directed towards the reconstruction of the life and times of Elias Chester, we shall piece together from these sources a portrait of the Milford community a century and a half ago.

2.1.1 Ancestry.

General Elias Chester (1769-1833) was one of the very first settlers in the region that is today's Milford School District. His pioneering spirit was descendent of five generations of Chesters whose American roots go back to Plymouth, Massachussetts only nineteen years after the Mayflower landed. The Commander's great, great, great grandfather,[5] Isaiah Chester (1591-1679) was born in the southwest of England. Isaiah's parents were French Huguenots who fled to England 20 years earlier to escape religious persecution. French law prohibited this industrious, merchant class denomination to emmigrate to America. And so it was from England, a generation later, that the first Chesters set sail for America. In 1639, Isaiah Chester, his wife and three children disembarked on the shores of America. Since the Chesters were counted among the Puritan faithful in New England, it is likely that religious beliefs and discordant relations with the Church of England prompted their emmigration. Indentured servitude was commonly practiced among the colonists and apparently the Chesters bartered their labor to gain passage across the Atlantic for later records show that Isaiah and his sons were "approved of to be freemen and allowed to take the oath of freedom" (Jessop, p. 14).

In the early 1640's, the Chesters moved to Windsor where the family acquired much land, engaged in agriculture and operated a ferry and inn on the Connecticut River. The terms of Isaiah's contract with the town of Windsor hints of a monopolistic quality to this early family enterprise:

> Isaiah Chester undertakes to keep and carefully to attend the Ferry over the Great River at Windsor, for the full term of 7 years from this day, and that he will provide a sufficient Boat for the carrying over of horse and foot upon all occasions; And that if his own occasions should necessitate him at any time to go out of call from his house or Ferry, that then he will provide some able man in his room to attend that

---

[5] The historical record of the Chester family contains very little information about women. At times, even names are not mentioned as in the following exerpt: "In the list of deaths in Windsor in 1640, we find recorded the death of 'Isaiah Chester's wife'". (Jessop, p. 8)

> service; for which the said Isaiah Chester is to have of those that he ferries over, 8d for every horse or mare, and 2d for every person that goes over therewith, or that hath another passenger to go over the said Ferry at the same time; and 3d for every person that goes over the said Ferry alone, single, or without any more than himself at the same time.
>
> And the court prohibits all other persons (except the inhabitants of Windsor who have liberty to carry over themselves or neighbors in their own canoes or boats) from carrying over the said Ferry any passenger or passengers, when the said Isaiah Chester or his assignee is present, or within call of his house or Ferry as aforesaid, to attend that service. And if any person or persons as aforesaid shall at any time during the aforesaid term, go over by Indians or English that have not boats or canoes of their own, that they pass over the said Ferry in, they shall as truly pay 8d for every horse or mare and 2d for every person, as if they went over with him. And the court also gives the said Isaiah Chester liberty to relieve (i.e., entertain) such strangers and passengers as cannot go the ordinary, and take of them convenient and reasonable recompense for the same. This was consented to by Isaiah Chester in Court.
> (Contract between Isaiah Chester and Court of Windsor. Cited in Jessop, pp. 11-12)

The occupation of ferrying passengers across the river was a vital, but dangerous business. Some of the occupational hazards with which the colonial Chesters contended are found in one particularly interesting account. The following episode occurred when Isaiah was up in years, and his son Mathew was operating the ferry:

> January 13, 1670.—Three women, viz., the wives of Lieut. Filer, and of John Drake, and of Nathaniel Lomas, having crossed Connecticut river upon a necessary and neighborly account, and having done the work they went for, were desirous to return to their own families, the river being at that time partly shut up with ice, old and new, and partly open. There being some pains taken aforehand to cut a way through the ice, the three women above said got into a canoe, with whom also there was Mathew Chester and an Indian. There was likewise another canoe with two men in it, that went before them to help them in case they should meet with any distress, which indeed quickly came upon them; for just as they were getting out of the narrow passage between the ice, being near the middle of the river, a greater part of the upper ice came down upon them, and struck the end of their canoe, and broke it to

> pieces, so that it quickly sunk under them. The Indian speedily got upon the ice, but Mathew Chester, and the above said women, were left floating in the middle of the river, being cut off from all manner of human help besides what did arise from themselves and the two men in the little canoe, which was so small that three persons durst seldom if ever, venture in it. They were indeed discerned from one shore, but the dangerous ice would not admit from either shore one to come near them. All things thus circumstanced, the suddenness of the stroke and distress (which is apt to amaze men, especially when no less than life is concerned), the extreme coldness of the weather, it being a sharp season, that persons out of the water were in danger of freezing, the unaptness of the persons to help themselves, being mostly women, one big with child, and near the time of her travail (who was also carried away under the ice), the other as unskilled and inactive to do anything for self-preservation as almost any could be, the waters deep, that there was no hope of footing, no passage to either shore, in any eye of reason, neither with their little canoe, by reason of the ice, nor without it, the ice being thin and rotten, and full of holes. Now, that all should be brought off safely without the loss of life, or wrong to health, was counted in the day of it a Remarkable Providence. To say how it was done is difficult, yet something of the manner of the deliverance may be mentioned. The abovesaid Mathew Chester, perceiving their danger, and being active in swimming, endeavoured, what might be, the preservation of himself and some others; he strove to have swum to the upper ice, but the stream being too hard, he was forced downwards to the lower ice where, by reason of the slipperiness of the ice, and disadvantage of the stream, he found it difficult getting up; at length, by the good hand of Providence, being gotten upon the ice, he saw one of the women swimming down under the ice, and perceiving a hole, or open place, some few rods below, there he waited, and took her up as she swam along. The other two women were in the river, till the two men in the little canoe came for their relief; at length all of them got their heads above the water, and had a little time to pause, though a long, and difficult, and dangerous way to any shore; but by getting their little canoe upon the ice, and carrying one at a time over hazardous places, they did (though in a long while) get all safe to the shore from whence they came.
> (From Increase Mather's "Remarkable Providences". Cited in Jessop, pp. 12-13)

While in his eighties, Isaiah Chester served as a Windsor trooper and held the rank of Captain as the Indian threat and King Phillip's War loomed over the town. By the time of his death at the age of 88, Isaiah

Chester and his family had gained considerable wealth and stature in the community for their leadership in commercial, civic, religious, philanthropic and military matters. The ferry and inn remained a family concern for at least two more generations. What came to be called "Chester's Ferry" finally ceased operating in 1922.

2.1.2 The Military Career of Elias Chester.

Elias Chester (1769-1833) was born in Windsor, Connecticut 130 years and five generations after Isaiah Chester immigrated to America. Elias, along with his father and five brothers, served with valor in the war of the American Revolution. Scharf (1883) says of Elias and his family:

> His father was a Revolutionary veteran who served with gallantry for eight years in the Colonial Army....His five brothers served with distinction throughout the Revolutionary struggle, and four of them afterwards in the Regular Army. One of them died on board a prison ship and one, Major Samuel Chester, died at Fort Carlton in 1807....No finer record of service by a single family can be shown than that of his father, brothers, and himself, whose military service amounted in the the aggregate to one hundred and twenty years.

About Elias Chester, Scharf adds:

> Though barely old enough to shoulder a musket, General Chester ardently embraced the cause of the patriots, and rose by his bravery through the various grades of promotion. (p. 1856)

At the age of 12 Elias Chester enlisted in the Army as a fifer. In his early teens he served as a courier, and quickly gained recognition for his bravery. One such act of courage is recounted by Scharf:

> General Chester, while a young officer of the Revolution, was once assigned the duty of carrying important dispatches from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh. He made the journey on foot, unattended, and was often compelled to secrete himself from the

> hostile Indians, to go without food, and endure bitter cold, to swim streams, etc. He delivered the dispatches safely, and won the hearty thanks and praise of the commanding officers, who could scarcely believe that he had made the perilous journey without an escort. (p. 1856)

Elias Chester's military career continued after Washington's inauguration, when one of the most pressing problems was the Indian threat in the Northwest Territory. The preceding chapter has detailed how Britain and Spain had armed and incited the Indian tribes. When Washington raised an army to defend the settlements in the Ohio Valley, Elias Chester and his older brother, Samuel were two of the 2300 troops who embarked on a trans-Appalachian march against the Indians. Under the command of General St. Clair, ensign Elias Chester served as quartermaster in charge of artillery transportation. This incredibly ambitious military maneuver was impaired by poor discipline, and set back by disease and desertion. Troop strength had dwindled by nearly half when St. Clair's forces suffered a surprise attack by Indians. Elias and Samuel Chester were among the 600 survivors who retreated eastward. In spite of this bitter defeat, Elias' heroic conduct merited him personal recognition from President Washington. Elias returned to Connecticut and married Deborah Taylor in 1793. His military career continued and his loyal service contributed to the Treaty of Greenville in 1795 where military victories over Indians resulted in large cessions of land in Ohio.

Elias Chester ascended the ranks of the military through Adams' and Jefferson's terms as President. Upon conclusion of the Louisiana Purchase, Captain Elias Chester commanded a small outpost along the Mississippi just north of the Ohio River. Here Chester received orders to "afford Captain Meriwether Lewis all the aid in your power in selecting and engaging suitable men to accompany him on an expedition to the westward" ("Letter of the Lewis and Clark Expedition" cited in Brockoff, 1962, p. 12).

In 1805, a U. S. Army cantonment was constructed along the Sauk River at a point strategic to the defense of Metropolitan City, now a 40 year old frontier settlement with a population of just over 1,000. Samuel Chester was commissioned an officer at the new Fort Carlton. Elias Chester remained at Fort North Point where, in 1806, he was drawn into the controversy surrounding Aaron Burr[6], the target of very obscure charges alleging conspiracy to bring about western secession. Burr's travels along the Mississippi had him passing Elias Chester's outpost, subjecting his vessels to official inspection, and then continuing on his journey. When Burr was brought to trial that same year, Chester was summoned to testify. The former vice president was eventually acquitted.

In 1807, the same year Robert Fulton invented the steamboat, Elias' brother Samuel died. Captain Chester traveled to Fort Carlton to attend the funeral. In these solemn circumstances, Chester unknowingly first set foot in what later became the Milford School District. In two years he would return to take command of Fort Carlton, and later build a home his descendents would occupy until 1962.

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[6] In the presidential election of 1800, a tie vote between Jefferson and Burr was broken to the disadvantage of the latter and the chagrin of Elias Chester who is said to have stood four square opposed to Jeffersonian principles and the Republican platform.

In 1808, James Madison was elected President on the Republican ticket when his friend Jefferson refused to run for a third term. It fell upon Madison to enact legislation passed in Jefferson's term which disallowed further importation of slaves within the United States and its territories. Questions about slave trading within the U. S. were to be decided by individual states. Negro slaves numbered about a million at the time Elias Chester was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel and received orders to take command of Fort Carlton. He returned to Connecticut for a visit with his wife and family and then, in the dead of winter, set out for Fort Carlton in the Louisiana Territory. His nephew, who accompanied him to Metropolitan City, recorded the journey of 1809:

> The last week in February, 1809, in company with the late General Elias Chester, then a Colonel, we left Connecticut for this place, and in order to travel as fast as possible, took the mail stage for Pittsburgh.
>
> The sleighing being good, we reached Philadelphia in due time. The snow disappearing we took wheels for Pittsburgh; the roads excessively muddy; travelled day and night, and going over the mountains in dark and rainy nights, the passengers had to each take turn in walking with a lantern beside the horses in order to keep the road, though this did not prevent us having an upset. I do not now remember the time we were on the way to Pittsburgh though it was many days, and we were nearly worn out with fatigue and want of sleep. Here we had to procure the hull of a small keelboat, and have a rough cabin fitted up on the stern, in order to drift down the Ohio river. This delayed us ten or twelve days, when, procuring three or four soldiers from Fort Pitt, we launched forth, drifting down with the current. When the wind was strong we had to put ashore, and sometimes remain a day or two. In due course of time we reached the mouth of the Ohio, where we had to hire several of Mr. Bird's stout negroes to assist in ascending the Mississippi, an arduous task, from daylight to dark, in cordelling and pulling along by the bushes, but in six days reached the Sauk River and a day later, Metropolitan City, on the 10th day of May, 1809.
> (Autobiographical Sketch of Lewis Chester, 1866, cited in Jessop, pp. 40-41)

Upon arriving at Fort Carlton, Chester immediately questioned the post's defensibility. This concern was communicated to the Secretary of War in a letter by the Lieutenant Colonel which read, in part:

> (The existing site) never should have been chosen for a place of defense, being situated under a high hill, which overlooks, and is within point blank shot, for a three pounder, of the whole cantonment and I think it not a very convenient place, for a deposity. (Cited in Brockhoff, 1962, pp. 19-20)

Chester urged the Secretary to consider reconstructing the fort in a more strategic location, according to plans submitted by the new commander. In convincing the Secretary of the need for the labor of soldiers in this task, Elias Chester tells about the labor force in the region of pioneer Milford:

> ...I feel embarrassed in answering that part of your letter, respecting the probable expense of the work and buildings to be erected—the situation of the country is such, though considerable population--mechanics cannot be got, builders, undertakers are not known in this country. Therefore a considerable part of the work, will unavoidably, have to be done by soldiers....The article of brick will be difficult to obtain,—I do not believe there is ten thousand in the territory, and there is no person that makes them for sale, nor can I find anyone that will undertake to make them or that knows how. Small quantities of an indifferent quality have been made in different parts of the district (as gentlemen have wanted for their own use) and wherever any have been sold, it has generally been at the enormous price of ten dollars per thousand.
>
> ...I have no doubt the works you propose to erect here, can be done at as little expense, as at any other place, in the United States, but not without more trouble and greater fatigue on the military as no dependence can be placed on the mechanics and laborers of this country. Boards, planks, scantling will have to be sawed, principally by the soldiers. (Cited in Brockhoff, p. 3)

Chester's request came at a time when tensions with Great Britain were mounting, and the turbulence created by Indian displacement was particularly acute elsewhere in the Mississippi Valley. The War Department approved Chester's plan. Commander Chester pressed the troops into service and within a year construction was completed and a new Fort Carlton had been erected. The entire job cost $1,000, which was about the going price for two good slaves. Improvements on "The Great Trail", formerly traveled and so named by the Osage, linked Fort Carlton to Metropolitan City in 1811. This military thoroughfare was rechristened "Carlton Road", the name it goes by to this day.

British and Indian threats could not have been too extreme around Milford before the War of 1812, judging from a complaint filed by John Larder, one of Chester's officers. In these charges we see some of the "country squire" side of the commander that we shall discuss later:

> It is remarkable that within the space of about four months this place (Fort Carlton) has so much assumed the appearance of a farm that a stranger would scarcely believe it was a military post. Colonel Chester has compelled the soldiers to clear and enclose upwards of 100 acres of the public tract which he has subdivided into fields calculated for agriculture ....The barracks and quarters are suffered to go to ruin and no measure whatever taken to repair them, the men of the company under my command are kept continually at hard labour, and are not even allowed a sufficiency of time to clean their arms and accoutrements...(instead they have been ordered to construct) a pleasure sled and a coach both of the best quality.
> (The Larder papers, 1810, cited in Brockoff, p. 22)

Elias Chester completed construction of his own private home on Carlton Road just before the War of 1812. In a later court martial, charges were filed against Chester concerning the questionable circumstances of the construction of this elegant home:

> Whilst Chester was at Fort Carlton, he built a large house two stories high, containing at least fourteen rooms, all done by the labour of the soldiers under his command. The timber being cut two or three miles above the Fort, it was rafted down by soldiers in a very inclement season thro' snow and ice. The public interest was made to give way to the building of this house. (Cited in Brockhoff, p. 30)

The statute of limitations spared Chester's prosecution on these charges. And even if Chester had been required to render an accounting of his behavior, it is clear that public sentiment was firmly behind the commander. For during the War of 1812, Elias Chester distinguished himself as a military hero, and had risen to the rank of Brigadier General. That story follows.

Metropolitan City, about ten miles north of Milford, was incorporated in 1809. With some 1200 inhabitants, it was the densest population center for hundreds of miles. In 1811, a very sparse and stalwart population inhabited the woodlands surrounding Metropolitan City. Yet on this year a Black Baptist Church was begun on a site not far from modern Milford. A Black journalist links some of this historic church's past and present:

> The Norris Baptist Church...was established in 1811 when white slave owner Thomas Norris provided a meeting place for his slaves to worship. The founding date makes Norris Baptist the oldest black church in the entire Midwest.
>
> I spoke with the Reverend, the church's 19th shepherd, following Sunday's worship service. Rev. Johnson assured me his flock of more than a hundred parishioners is alive, well and keenly aware of his heritage. The spirit of Sunday's worship service was a bit dampened by the news that the church's oldest member, Mrs. Clara Walsh, had passed away on Saturday. Mrs. Walsh had been a faithful member of Norris Baptist Church for 88 of her 100 years. (Metro Gazette, 8-27-82)

1812 stands out as an important date for many reasons, not the least of which is the beginning of public education. As Greer (1899) recounts:

> The history of the public schools of the city of Metropolitan begins with the act of Congress, approved June 13, 1812, giving to inhabitants of several towns and villages of the Territory of Midwest certain village lots and common field lots for the support of schools in respective towns and villages. Metropolitan City was one of these towns and villages, and it took measures to get possession of the vacant lots, procuring the passage of a bill in the Territorial Legislature establishing a board of trustees to take charge of the land, rent or sell it, and apply the proceeds to the maintenance of schools. (p. 2013)

The first school board was formed in 1812. One of its original six members was Andre Devareaux. While a school board existed it would take nearly a quarter of a century before the first public school would be built in the City.

Another notable event of 1812 is the founding of Liguest County. Its 500 mile area was divided into five jurisdictions. The Chester property, and all of what is now the Milford School District, became a part of the Gentle Valley Township, so named for the city of 200 persons some five miles to the southeast of Milford.

As the conflict with the British intensified, responsibility for defense and protection of the frontier settlements lay with Elias Chester and the 134 regular troups stationed at Fort Carlton. A communique by Chester to the Secretary of War in 1813 describes the threat of Tecumseh's Indian league, and Britain's role in turning the Indians against the Americans:

> I hope it may not be thought arrogant of me, in fact I feel it my duty, to say the means of defense on this frontier, I think

> quite inadequate, to the protection necessary, for the property and population of the country, every information that can be got agrees that a combination of the Northern Indians is now certain, for the purpose of harrasing the frontiers of this territory. That British agents have been during the winter, and still are engaged amongst the Indians on the Mississippi and Illinois Rivers. (Cited in Brockhoff, p. 39)

In 1814, Elias Chester was called from Fort Carlton to command a 900 man force against the British. Leaving behind this wife, three daughters and a son, Chester set out for the Indiana Territory where he commanded United States forces to victory at the Battle of Lyons Creek. A nation whose capitol had just been burned by the British had their pride and hopes rekindled by the battlefield victory of Brigadier General Elias Chester. This military success was soon complemented by Andrew Jackson's victory in the Battle of New Orleans in 1815. Neither the British nor American forces were aware that a peace treaty had been signed two weeks earlier in Chent, Belgium. With the conclusion of the war, Elias Chester returned to his family and command post at Fort Carlton amidst, we presume, considerable fanfare. During Chester's absence a new road had been constructed just to the east of the family estate. Richmond Road became pioneer Milford's second thoroughfare, and a bumpy and rough conduit for transporting surplus agricultural products from the Gentle Valley settlement into Metropolitan City, which by now had about 3,000 inhabitants. Over 150 years later, Richmond Road would become an attendance boundary for the Kensington Elementary School, and a corridor for Black suburban migration.

Elias Chester was not without his detractors, as earlier vignettes have indicated. Another feud between Chester and one of his subordinate officers provides a glimpse of the General's quick temper. As Ryan (1955) recounts the episode:

> Colonel Nicholas...had requested permission to pay his respects to Chester's daughter, Mary. The general flew at him with the ferocity of a gander protecting its young. In a letter dated at Buffalo, New York, November 15, 1814, Chester accused Nicholas of vulgar and loose habits without one qualification to make a woman happy; and further stated that he was a poltroon and a coward who would need a good endorser to get him into decent company. (p. 32)

This altercation seems to have found its way into the Chester court martial of 1816, for along with the accusations of the General's use of military personnel in the construction of his home:

> Chester was charged with unofficerlike conduct, ungentlemanly conduct, and conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentleman, with ten specifications ranging from permitting misuse of hospital stores to disregarding orders. Colonel Robert C. Nicholas lodged an additional all encompassing charge of "Disobedience to orders, unofficerlike conduct, and ungentlemanly conduct" with 38 specifications going into great detail. Much was made of the fact that Chester indulged in and permitted card playing at the stations he commanded, being especially addicted to blackjack and cutthroat.
> (Ryan, pp. 32-33)

The military court acquitted Elias Chester on all charges except "conduct unbecoming an officer and gentleman." For this Chester received a reprimand. Save for a few persons like Larder and Nicholas, Chester enjoyed considerable popularity and there seemed to be little interest in punishing the hero of the Battle of Lyons Creek.

Chester commanded Fort Carlton until 1818 when he became stationed in New Orleans to serve under Andrew Jackson for the next three years.

During this time, the Florida territory was ceded to the United States by Spain and Mexico gained its independence. Peaceful relations existed between the United States and European nations, including Britain. In 1821, the United States Army began a large scale reduction of troop strength. And among the military personnel considered "supernumerary" was the 52 year old Elias Chester, who was discharged from the Army after 40 years of service. From 1821 until his death in 1833, Elias Chester fought to regain his commission. However, the political ascendancy of John Larder, one of Chester's old enemies, was sufficient to block Chester's appeals to Congress and Presidents Monroe, Adams, and Jackson. Elias Chester lived his final 12 years with his family on the Carlton Road farm in early Milford.

2.1.3 Life As a Country Squire.

When Chester became a private citizen, Midwest State had recently been admitted to the union as a slave state. The State's first constitution laid the groundwork for the first public schools in much the same way as in Metropolitan City when the territorial legislature provided that at least one public school be located within every township. One of each township's 36 sections was to remain public property, the proceeds of which were to go into an education fund. The first public schools in the region of Milford and outside the City were still 25 years away. Metropolitan City 55 years after its founding, now had a population of 4,000. The town of Gentle Valley contained a few hundred inhabitants. Census data of this period indicate that close to 20% of the country-wide population was composed of "slaves" and "free persons of color, etc." (Scharf, p. 1015)

Relieved of his military duties, Chester directed his energies into real estate and agriculture, and enjoyed considerable success in these enterprises. Elias Chester acquired additional tracts of land in the area, and the family estate increased to 2,300 acres. Today this land is the southwest quarter of the Milford School District. With such valuable assets, the Chesters were counted among the wealthiest families in the region and known for their participation in civic, political, and social events in Metropolitan City and Gentle Valley. In the early 1820's, the African nation of Liberia had been created by the American Colonization Society as a mechanism to remove freed Blacks from the country.

In the year 1823, the Jesuits established a Theological Seminary on the outskirts of the Town of Gentle Valley. The circumstances surrounding the founding of the Township's first educational institution are recounted by one of the seven first students:

> Father Reimer and companions took possession of their farm in June, 1823, Mr. O'Malley, magistrate of Gentle Valley, having moved from it for the purpose, kindly ceding his right to retain it longer, although his lease had not expired. The land lying northwest from Gentle Valley slopes gently upward near the village, till it reaches the highest table of the bluffs overlooking the Sauk River, two and a half miles away. Commencing at the upland, a mile from the river, and declining southeast towards Metropolitan City, lay the pretty little farm now to be their home, and on one of the highest and most lovely spots of all this scene of rich prairie and rolling woodland stood the humble cabin that was to shelter them. The prospect from this elevated position is both extensive and beautiful, reaching far over the charming valley in which the village is embosomed...,on the banks of the Sauk...Throughout this entire Gentle Valley the soil is of inexhaustible fertility, rewarding even moderate care and industry with plentiful crops of corn, wheat, timothy, and every variety of garden vegetables suited to the climate. Moreover, it is not

> only a pleasant district to live in, but it is very healthy, as the numerous instances of longevity among the people there spending their long lives conclusively show.
>
> The dwelling given up to them by Squire O'Malley was a log cabin, containing one room, which was sixteen by eighteen feet in dimensions, and over it was a loft, but not high enough for a man to stand erect in it, except when directly under the comb of the roof. This poorly-lighted and ill-ventilated loft or garret was made the dormitory of the seven novices, their beds consisting of panels spread upon the floor. The room below was divided into two by a curtain, one part being used as a chapel and the other serving as a bedroom for Fathers Reimer and Sullivan. This main room of the cabin had a door on the southeast side or front, a large window on the northwest side, without sash or glass, but closed with a heavy board shutter; on the southwest side it had a small window with a few panes of glass, and, finally, on the northeast side was a notable chimney, with a fireplace having a capacity for logs of eight feet in length.
>
> At the distance of about eighty feet to the northeast of this dwelling were two smaller cabins, some eight feet apart, one of which was made to serve both as study hall for the novices and as a common dining-room for the community; the other was used as kitchen and for lodging the negroes. These rude structures were covered with rough boards held in place by weight-poles; the floors were "puncheons," and the doors were of riven slabs, and their wooden latches were lifted with strings hanging outside. (History of City University by Rev. Waltenhell, S. J. cited in Scharf, p. 1893)

Within two years of the Jesuits' settling, a pair of Catholic schools was opened. An order of Catholic nuns opened an "Indian School" for girls in the Town of Gentle Valley. The Jesuits opened a similar school for Indian boys on the Seminary property. These short-lived educational experiments are thus described:

> The first effort in the direction of educating the Indians... of which we have any record, was made in 1824. Early in the preceding year,...the bishop of Upper and Lower Louisiana consulted the Monroe administration in Washington on the subject of educating the children of the Indian tribes in his diocese. The good bishop provided a farm near Gentle Valley, and Rev. Charles Reimer, a Belgian priest, was selected as the head of the Jesuit community to be established here. Father Reimer was accompanied from Maryland by six young Belgians,

> enthusiastic with the idea of civilizing the savages in the far West. As the government was to allow a money compensation for each Indian boy boarded and taught, this fund, though small, aided the novitiates in their preparations for the greater work before them. Two Indian boys were received from Metropolitan City in 1824, and three others from the wild tribes somewhat later. In 1827 there were fourteen Indian children at the boys' seminary, and as many Indian girls in charge of the Sisters of St. Ursula at Gentle Valley, the majority of whom, however, were Cherokee half-breeds. The seminary, in 1828, was attended, also, by some fifteen sons of the most respectable white families, as affording better educational facilities than were elsewhere obtainable at that period. The first of these recorded is "Charles P. Devareaux, aged eight years." But though similar Indian school establishments were made among the Osages and Pottawatomies further West, the results of these educational efforts were far from encouraging. The Indian character was intractable. Priests went among the tribes and exercised a humanizing and peaceful influence, but the savages were entirely indifferent to books. In 1830 the Indian schools had been discontinued. (Hyde and Conrad, pp. 1095-6)

In 1825, the year John Quincy Adams took the oath of office, Metropolitan City was visited by General LaFayette. The hero of the American and French Revolutions arrived by a still novel form of transportation, the steamboat. The group of dignitaries that greeted him included Elias Chester and his long time friend Andre Devareux, Osage fur trader.

With moderate westward migration and population growth, Metropolitan City took on increasing commercial and strategic importance. By the mid 1820's, Fort Carlton was no longer adequate for the defense of the region. In 1826, Fort Carlton was closed down and replace by a much larger military installation some 30 miles upstream. In 1826, Chester's former commander, Andrew Jackson, became President. During his first term in office, native American peoples were effectively removed from lands east of the Mississippi upon the defeat of the great chief, Blackhawk.

In 1833, Elias Chester contracted pneumonia, died and was buried at his home in frontier Milford. We can only assume that the General's funeral drew many prominent citizens to the Chester Farm to pay their last respects to the Revolutionary War veteran and hero of the War of 1812. Elias Chester was survived by his wife Deborah, three daughters, Ellen, Marie, and Constance, and a son Randall, who withdrew from law school to attend to his mother and look after the family estate. The widow Chester passed away in 1844 and Randall Chester continued to live on the homestead until his death in 1887. We conclude the present discussion and preview the next by providing a photograph of the Chester Mansion. Shown here as Figure 4 is Randall Chester, his family and a Black servant in post Bellum Milford, some 40 years after the General's death.

Insert Figure 4 About Here

2.2 Slavery on the Chester Estate

The institution of slavery in the United States had long been a controversial and divisive issue, and General Chester must have sensed some of the impending changes on the social horizon. Before his death, Chester was certainly aware of sentiments such as the following published by William L. Garrison in "The Liberator":

> Let Southern oppressors tremble--let their secret abettors tremble--let their Northern apologists tremble--let all the enemies of the persecuted blacks tremble.
> (Cited in Bragdon and McCutcheon, 1960, p. 267)

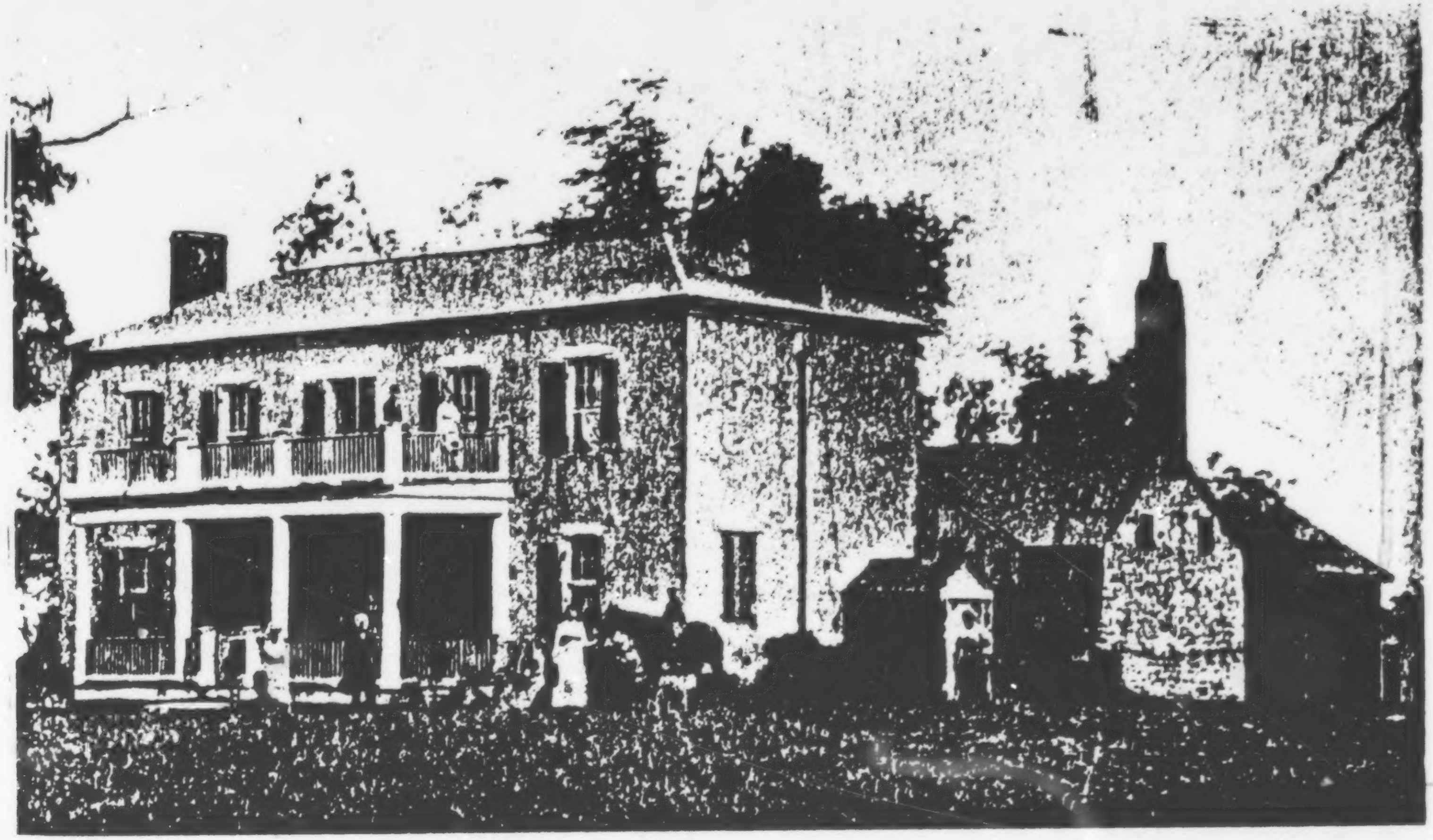


Figure 4: The Chester Home (Circa 1875)

Globally, the practice of slavery was on the wane. Great Britain abolished slavery in its possessions in 1833. Spain did likewise in her colonies in 1850 after the General's death, the abolitionist movement gained impetus in a more pervasive climate of social reform in areas such as labor, women's rights, and mental health. During the eleven years that the widow Chester and her son Randall headed the estate, these issues were drawn very much to the forefront of the collective conscience. Challenges to the institution of slavery were undoubtedly threatening to the Chesters, whose econimic security depended in large measure upon bonded labor. We can only assume that the economic depression which gripped the nation with the Panic of 1837 only intensified these fears.

It is not known when slave labor was first used by the Chester family. Between 1812 and 1821, it is likely that at least a few Negro servants and laborers were present. The labor force, which grew to about three dozen slaves was probably acquired after the General's retirement from the Army and when the Chesters acquired additional property. The practice of slavery continued into the second generation of Chesters until Civil War. There are precious few glimpses of slavery and the lives of Milford's first Black community, except for those surviving in documents associated with the settlement of the Chester Estate. From these data we shall try to reconstruct an image of the lives of slaves in frontier Milford by making inferences from these documents based upon what is known more generally about bonded servitude. In this task we shall draw heavily from Stampp's (1956) analysis of The Peculiar Institution.

2.2.1 The Chester Farm.

A good place to begin this analysis is to consider the physical facilities and the products produced on the Chester Farm. The best description of the Chester estate comes to us in an advertisement in the Metropolitan Gazette announcing the sale of the property in 1846:

> VALUABLE TRACT OF LAND FOR SALE
>
> On the first Monday of December next, at the Court House door in the City of Metropolitan, between the hours of ten and twelve o'clock of said day, I will offer for sale, as administrator of the estate of Elias Chester, deceased, the farm on which the said deceased lived during his lifetime, comprising 2,300 acres of land. Said farm lies within about ten miles of Metropolitan City, on the Carlton Road. There are 300 acres under fence, a fine orchard, large brick dwelling house, barn, stable, carriage house, and all other convenient outhouses, a good well of water, and a number of springs on the tract. There is also an abundance of timber for the purposes of the farm. On another portion of the tract there is a field of 50 acres cleared and a good cabin upon it. The whole is highland and all but a few acres susceptible to cultivation. The land, from its position, is commendably healthy, and is in an excelent neighborhood.
>
> Said tract of land will be divided into parcels to suit purchasers, a plat of which will be made before the day of sale. TERMS OF SALE--one fourth cash, the remainder in equal installments of one, two, and three years with interest.
>
> Persons desirous of purchasing will have every facility afforded of examining this land, by the subscriber, who will be found on the premises.
>
> J. R. Chester, Liguest County
> (June 9, 1846)

Other records describing the Chester property indicate the "existence of an ox powered grist mill, a metal or anvil shop, slave quarters (and...a milkhouse" (Kramer, 2966, pp. 11-12). In all likelihood, the Chester Farm produced diversified agricultural products, a regional practice in contrast to the single crop systems common in the deep south. A survey of the economic base of Liguest County in 1840 suggests the range of items which may have been produced on the Chester Farm:

Value of the products of the dairy	$12,283
" " " " " " orchard	18,465
" " home-made or family goods	13,495
" " produce of market gardeners	20,331
" " " " nurseries and florists	2,025
LIVE-STOCK	
Number of horses and mules	3,740
" " meat cattle	13,193
" " sheep	8,478
Number of swine	$22,649
Estimated value of other property of all kinds	11,233
GRAIN	
Number of bushels of wheat	58,677
" " " " barley	1,865
" " " " oats	91,956
" " " " rye	5,638
" " " " buckwheat	1,908
" " " " Indian corn	451,144
VARIOUS CROPS	
Pounds of wool	8,651
" " hops	435
" " wax	1,758
Bushels of potatoes	81,310
Tons of hay	4,147
" " hemp and flax	9,905
Pounds of tobacco gathered	197,045
The number of bushels of bituminous coal raised is 233,000, capital invested	$11,600
There are four tanneries, capital invested	2,500
Thirteen grist- and seven saw-mills, capital	12,050
Three distilleries.	

(Cited in Scharf, p. 1016)

The Chesters found a ready market for their products in the growing Metropolitan City. The Carlton Road provided a direct transportation route to this population center 10 miles to the north.

2.2.2 The Labor Force.

The inferences we make about the way of life of the Blacks living on the Chester estate are based upon three data sources: slave rosters found in an inventory of family assets at the time of the death of Elias Chester, legal documents produced in Probate Court in the settlement of the Chester estate after the death of Elias' widow, and newspaper advertisements and related expense accounts. We begin by arranging three slave rosters[7] side by side as Figure 5. In the paragraphs ahead, we shall make frequent reference to these slave lists.

Insert Figure 5 About Here

The first inference we make about the way life was organized for the Chester slaves is deduced from the number of bondsmen the family owned. While slaves undoubtedly were born and died and bought and sold after 1821, it is unlikely that their numbers fell below thirty until 1845. The size and complexity of the Chester Farm required a large work force. What Stampp says of such large systems probably applied to the Chester operation as well:

> The planters who owned more than thirty slaves were the ones who achieved maximum efficiency, the most complex economic organization, and the highest degree of specialization within their labor forces. Slightly less than half of the slaves

---

[7] The three slave rosters, except for the headings used and the order of listings, are very close to the way they appeared. Each is placed side by side so that the presence or absence of any particular slave, along with descriptive information, can be readily examined. It is not always possible to know if the matches of persons between rosters are correct. Discrepancies in age, spelling and use of names all complicate the task of displaying continuity and change in the Chester slave population.

February, 1834 Name	March, 1844 Name	Gender	Age	Complexion	January, 1845 Name	Age	Selling Price	Purchaser
Henry	Henry	Man	40	Brown	Henry	40	270	H. Pelkington
Henry	Henry	Boy	30	Light	Henry	28	600	J. K. Upton
James	James	Man	50	Dark	James	57	125	F. Price
James' son								
Dick	Dick	Man	60	Yellow	Dick	57	1	F. Price
Richard	Richard	Man	22	Brown	Richard	23	600	T. Hughes
Bassil								
Paill								
John	John	Man	35	Black				
Limerick					Limerick	26	510	T. Harmon
William								
William's son	Bill	Boy	22	Dark	Bill		520	C. Anderson
Alfred	Alfred	Man	22	Brown	Alfred	22	515	J. K. Upton
David	David	Boy	20	Dark	David	21	525	J. K. Upton
Frederick								
George								
George's son	George	Boy	13	Brown	George	14	400	R. O'Blemis
John's son	John	Boy	15	Dark	John	16	350	J. K. Upton
Frederick's son	Frederick	Boy	18	Dark	Frederick	19	515	J. K. Upton
Charles	Charles	Man	24	Very bright now run away				
Edmond								
Lewis	Lewis	Man	45	Brown				
Milly	Milly	Woman	40	Light	Milly	39	275	W. Gustin
Rhody	Rhody	Woman	50	Yellow	Rhody	57	200	J. K. Upton
Minny								
Clary								
Mary	Mary	Woman	26	Brown	Mary	27	435	D. Page
Monah	Mona	Woman	24	Dark	Mona	20		
					and		405	C. Langamore
	and				unnamed child			
	Cathrinne	Girl	3		Cathrine	3	110	J. K. Upton
Julia	Julia	Woman	17	Dark	Julia	17	475	S. Rucker
Amy	Amy	Woman	35		Amy	35		
	and				and		400	J. K. Upton
	Vernal		2		Vernal			
Till	Till	Woman	100					
Sarah	Sarah	Girl	17	Light	Sarah	17	500	M. Lusslie
Ann	Ann	Girl	15	Light	Ann	15	475	J. K. Upton
Rebecca	Rebecca	Girl	13	Light	Rebecca	13	415	T. Harmon
	Silas	Boy	8	Light Color	Silas	9	225	F. Price
	Winey	Woman	46	Dark	Winny	47	300	J. K. Upton
	Perry	Boy	5	Brown	Perry	5	180	F. Price
	George	Boy	18	Light	George		420	J. K. Upton
	Peter	Boy	13	Copper				
	Gincy	Woman	30	Yellow				
					Frederick	14	400	Dr. J. Grant
					Servis	47	100	R. Meotta
					Daisey	31	405	J. Edinburg

Figure 5: Lists of Chester Slaves: 1834, 1844, 1845
(Source: Brockhoff, 1961, pp. 57,80,82,83)

> belonged to the approximately twenty-five thousand masters operating plantations of these dimensions. Planters in this group who did not use overseers were as rare as the smaller slave holders who did. In 1860, the number of Southerners who were employed as overseers about equalled the number of plantations with more than thirty slaves.
>
> The planter who hired a full-time overseer limited his direction of routine crop cultivation to periodic inspections of the fields and concentrated upon problems of marketing, finance, and general plantation administration. Being free from the need to give constant attention to his labor force, he enjoyed greater leisure and was able to absent himself from the plantation more or less at his discretion. He employed his overseer on a year-to-year basis, usually by a written contract which could be terminated at the will of either party. The planter paid his overseer an annual salary ranging all the way from $100 to $1,200, in addition to furnishing a house, an allowance of corn and pork, and a slave servant. (p. 38)

The overseer was directly accountable to the planter. The following management system and description of the overseer's responsibilities may also have applied to the Chester production system:

> Each planter had his own peculiar notions about the proper way to manage an estate, but his instructions tended to follow a somewhat standardized pattern. A Mississippian generalized about the overseer's responsibilities in a way that also any planter would have endorsed: "The Overseer will never be expected to work in the field, but he must always be with the hands when not otherwise engaged in the Employers business and must do every thing that is required of him, provided it is directly or indirectly connected with planting or other pecuniary interest of the Employer." Specific instructions related to the care and control of the slaves, the amount and kinds of labor to be performed, the care of plantation tools and livestock, and the behavior and activities of the overseer himself. The owner often required his overseer to keep a daily record of general plantation activities and to make regular oral or written reports. In short, he expected the overseer to be an efficient general manager and a careful guardian of his employer's property.
>
> The overseer's performance rarely satisfied the planter. To find an overseer with the skill to operate a large estate, the self-discipline and understanding of human psychology needed to control a body of slaves, and the physical energy to perform the countless duties assigned to him, was the dream of every planter but the realization of few. Since the social

> prestige and monetary rewards were seldom commensurate with the responsibilities, the profession did not attract many of the South's most talented men. The countless essays on the shortcomings of overseers in southern periodicals and the rapid turnover on most plantations gave evidence that this was one of the planter's major problems. Only in exceptional cases did he retain the same overseer for more than a year or two. (pp. 38-39)

The shortcomings of the overseer as personnel manager and foreman often resulted in cruel treatment of the slaves. The slave had little recourse but to accept such mistreatment, for a complaint to the master was likely to result in further punishment for by-passing the lines of authority.

The overseer presided over a specialized and hierarchical system of labor. The position of driver was directly beneath the overseer. This post was usually filled by trusted Black males. At the Chester Estate in 1844, the driver may have been "John" judging from his age, 35, and that he was not among those sold. The general responsibilities of the driver are thus described:

> In working the slave force the overseer generally made use of one or more slave drivers. If there were several of them one was designated head driver and acted almost as a sub-overseer. Sometimes the drivers were required to work and thus to set the pace for the rest of the slaves; sometimes they were exempted from labor and urged the gangs on by word or whip. A South Carolina rice planter defined their duties in his plantation rules: "Drivers are, under the Overseer, to maintain discipline and order on the place. They are to be responsible for the quiet of the negro-houses, for the proper performance of tasks, for bringing out the people early in the morning, and generally for the immediate inspection of such things as the Overseer only generally superintends." Planters thus called upon trusted slaves to become part of the plantation's command hierarchy. (pp. 40-41)

While drivers occupied a relatively high position in the formal hierarchy, this was probably at the expense of social acceptance among the other Blacks in their charge.

The labor superintended by drivers falls into at least three general categories: artisans, household servants, and field hands. Of these three, the skilled artisan was most highly valued:

> The bondsmen who were valued most highly were those who had acquired special skills which usually exempted them from field work entirely. This select group of slave craftsmen included engineers, coopers, carpenters, blacksmiths, brickmakers, stone masons, mechanics, shoemakers, weavers, millers, and landscapers. The excellence of the work performed by some of them caused slaveowners to make invidious comparisons between them and the free artisans they sometimes employed. An Englishman recalled an interview with the overseer on a Louisiana sugar plantation: "It would have been amusing, had not the subject been so grave, to hear the overseer's praises of the intelligence and skill of these workmen, and his boast that they did all the work of skilled laborers on the estate, and then to listen to him, in a few minutes, expatiating on the utter helplessness and ignorance of the black race, their incapacity to do any good, or even to take care of themselves." (pp. 58-59)

Perhaps "Henry" and "Richard", the two men selling for $600 apiece, fetched this highest selling price because they possessed a valuable skill.

Another highly valued role was the domestic servant. The Chesters were sure to have had a few of these at the very least, and perhaps as far back as 1812. From the 1846 slave list, the retention of "Gincy" and the high selling price of "Sarah" might indicate that these two were such valued domestics. Stampp tells a little about the life of the domestic:

> Domestic servants were prized almost as much as craftsmen. The number and variety of domestics in a household depended upon the size of the establishment and the wealth of the master. They served as hostlers, coachmen, laundresses, seamstresses, cooks, footmen, butlers, housemaids, chambermaids, children's nurses, and personal servants. On a large plantation specialization was complete: "The cook never enters the house, and the nurse is never seen in the kitchen; the washwoman is never put to ironing, nor the woman who has charge of the ironing-room ever put to washing. Each one rules supreme in her wash-house, her ironing-room, her kitchen, her nursery, her house-keeper's room; and thus...a complete system of domesticdom is established to the amazing comfort and luxury of all who enjoy its advantages." (p. 59)

The least enviable position in the Chester work force was the field hand. It was probably a select few of the Chester slaves who were totally spared participation in field work, especially during planting and harvest times. The field hands were the ones who plowed and hoed the soil where subdivisions stand today, topped and suckered tobacco in places now criss-crossed by roads, and broke and hackled hemp where churches and schools are found today. If sufficiently scaled down, the following description of field hands at work might be similar to what could be seen on the Chester Farm:

> One summer afternoon in 1854, a traveler in Mississippi caught a vivid picture of a gang of field-hands returning to their toil after a thundershower. "First came, led by an old driver carrying a whip, forty of the largest and strongest women I ever saw together; they were all in a simple uniform dress of a bluish check stuff, the skirts reaching little below the knee; their legs and feet were bare; they carried themselves loftily, each having a hoe over the shoulder, and walking with a free, powerful swing, like chasseurs on the mark." Then came the plow-hands with their mules, "the cavalry, thirty strong, mostly men, but a few of them women....A lean and vigilant white overseer, on a brisk pony, brought up the rear." In this procession were the chief components of the plantation's production machinery--the regimented laborers whom slavery was expected to provide.
>
> Slavery was above all a labor system. Wherever in the South the master lived, however many slaves he owned, it was his

> bondsmen's productive capacity that he generally valued most. And to the problem of organizing and exploiting their labor with maximum efficiency he devoted much of his attention.
> (1956, p. 35)

Age and physical health were important factors in determining the work performed by slaves on the Chester Farm, as elsewhere. Older persons and the infirm, while spared the travail of field labor were nonetheless expected to be productive. One of the Chester slaves, a 60 year old man named "Dick", was apparently so feeble to be scarcely worth his keep. He brought $1 on the auction block in 1846. A 100 year old woman named "Till" either died or was not marketable, for she too was not among the slaves sold. Her name probably tells the kind of labor she performed before Liguest founded Metropolitan City 80 years earlier. What Stampp says of the aged and afflicted slave probably applies to Till and Dick:

> Mature slaves who did not work in the field (unless they were totally disabled or extremely old) performed other kinds of valuable and productive labor. Old women cooked for the rest of the slaves, cared for small children, fed the poultry, mended and washed clothes, and nursed the sick. Old men gardened, minded stock, and cleaned the stable and the yard.
>
> Old or partially disabled slaves might also be put to spinning and weaving in the loom houses of the more efficient planters. The printed instructions in a popular plantation record book advised overseers to adopt this policy: "Few instances of good management will better please an employer, than that of having all the winter clothing spun and woven on the place. By having a room devoted to that purpose...where those who may be complaining a little, or convalescent after sickness, may be employed in some light work, and where all of the women may be sent in wet weather, more than enough of both cotton and woolen yarn can be spun for the supply of the place." One planter reported that he had his spinning jenny "going at a round rate(.) Old Charles (is) Spinning and Ester reeling the thread...Charles will in this way be one of my most productive laborers and so will several of the women(.)" Thus a master's productive slaves were by no means limited to those listed as field-hands.
> (p. 58)

Productivity was the measure of the slave's value, with prime field hands such as "Limerick, Bill, Alfred, David, Frederick, Mary, Julia, and Daisey" probably setting the standard. The rating system which Stampp describes below would have older persons like "James, Thody, and Servis" and children such as "Silas and Perry" rated quarter hands. Two "breeding women and sucklers", one named "Mona" and her two infants, and "Amy" and her baby would be rated half hands. Three other adults, "Henry, Milly, and Winny" were likely also to be rated at half. The remaining adults and adolescents were possibly three quarter-hands:

> When calculating his yield per field-hand a slaveholder was not calculating his yield per slave, for he almost always owned fewer field-hands than slaves. Some of his slaves performed other types of work, and the very young and the very old could not be used in the fields. The master's diseased, convalescing, and partially disabled slaves, his "breeding women" and "sucklers," his children just beginning to work in the fields, and his slaves of advanced years were incapable of laboring as long and as hard as full-time hands.
>
> Most masters had systems of rating such slaves as fractional hands. Children often began as "quarter hands" and advanced to "half hands," "three-quarter hands," and then "full hands." As mature slaves grew older they started down this scale. "Breeding women" and "sucklers" were rated as "half hands." Some planters organized these slaves into separate gangs, for example, into a "sucklers gang." Children sometimes received their training in a "trash gang," or "children's squad," which pulled weeds, cleaned the yard, hoed, wormed tobacco, or picked cotton. Seldom were many more than half of a master's slaves listed in his records as field-hands, and always some of the hands were classified as fractional. (pp. 56-57)

Eleven of the Chester slaves sold in 1846 were pre-school or school aged. The following description of the "education" of Black children harkens future images of Milford's first "colored school" built 75 years later and the 1954 Supreme Court decision that integrated Milford's schools:

> The master, not the parents, decided at what age slave children should be put to work in the fields. Until they were five or six years old children were "useless articles on a plantation." Then many received "their first lessons in the elementary part of their education" through serving as "water-toters" or going into the fields alongside their mothers. Between the ages of ten and twelve the children became fractional hands, with a regular routine of field labor. By the time they were eighteen they had reached the age when they could be classified as "prime field-hands." (pp. 57-58)

The productivity and profitability of a large farm operation depended upon a submissive disposition, and numerous tactics were employed by masters and overseers to insure that slaves remained docile and obedient. While we will never know the particulars about how acquiescence was cultivated on the Chester estate, it is a safe bet that the specific procedures embraced some of the following general principles:

> Here, then, was the way to produce the perfect slave: accustom him to rigid discipline, demand from him unconditional submission, impress upon him his innate inferiority, develop in him a paralyzing fear of white men, train him to adopt the master's code of good behavior, and instill in him a sense of complete dependence. This, at least, was the goal.
>
> But the goal was seldom reached. Every master knew that the average slave was only an imperfect copy of the model. He knew that some bondsmen yielded only to superior power--and yielded reluctantly. This complicated his problem of control. (1956, p. 148)

2.2.3 Social Control of Slaves.

Nearly every facet of the slave's life was subject to external control. Viewed as property, Milford's bonded Blacks had no civil rights and were therefore unable to enter into contracts. As a result, slave marriages were not sanctioned by law. The Chesters were free to dissolve partnerships and family units at will and, as the roster of

1846 indicates, exercised this privilege in selling "Mona" and her three year old child to different masters. Whether the two ever saw each other again can never be known.

Religious practices among Black slaves were also controlled in the interest of productivity. For one thing, the spirited religious services of the slave congregation could be a source of fatigue in the fields the next day. As one planter lamented, "They would be singing and dancing every night in their cabins, till dawn of day, and utterly unfit themselves for work" (1956, p. 157). More importantly, religion was controlled to supress discontent and insurrection. This was especially true in the aftermath of the slave uprising of 1831 led by a Black preacher named Amos Moses. More than a little irony attends the fact that 90 years later a "colored school" was built in Milford and named after this slave preacher. Stampp provides this biographical sketch of Moses:

> No ante-bellum Southerner could ever forget Amos Moses. The career of this man made an impact upon the people of his section as great as that of John C. Calhoun or Jefferson Davis. Yet Moses was only a slave in Southampton County, Virginia--and during most of his life a rather unimpressive one at that. He was a pious man, a Baptist exhorter by avocation, apparently as humble and docile as a slave was expeced to be. There is no evidence that he was underfed, overworked, or treated with special cruelty. If Amos Moses could not be trusted, what slave could? That was what made his sudden deed so frightening.
>
> Somehow Moses came to believe that he had been divinely chosen to deliver his people from bondage, and he persuaded several other slaves to assist him. In due time he saw the sign for which he had waited, and early in the morning of August 22, 1831, he and his followers rose in rebellion. They began by killing the family to whom Moses belonged. As they marched through the Southampton countryside they gained additional recruits, making a total of about seventy. (Others seemed ready

> to join if the rebels came their way. The slave Jacob, for example, proclaimed "that if they came by he would join them and assist in killing all the white people.") Within two days they killed nearly sixty whites. They could have killed more. They left undisturbed at least one poor white family, "because they thought no better of themselves than they did of the negroes." To justify the killings, members of Moses' band declared that they had had enough of punishment, or that they now intended to be as rich as their masters. One rebel demonstrated his new status by walking off in his late owner's shoes and socks.
>
> The Amos Moses rebellion lasted only forty-eight hours. Swiftly mobilizing in overwhelming strength, the whites easily dispersed the rebels. Then followed a massacre during which not only the insurrectionists but scores of innocent bondsmen were slaughtered. Others, charged with "felonously consulting, advising and conspiring...to rebel...and making insurrection and taking the lives of diverse free white persons of this Commonwealth," were tried before a court of oyer and terminer during the montns of September and October. Some were executed, others transported. Most of those transported had not actively participated in the rebellion; they had merely expressed sympathy for the rebels. (1956, pp. 132-33)

Anti-slavery positions taken by the Baptists and Methodists were cause for alarm for many slaveholders, including the Chesters who practiced Methodism. So divisive was this issue that a schism produced southern wings of these sects which supported slavery, and even found scriptural support for their position. Stampp speaks to the relationship between religion and the status quo:

> Church leaders now argued "that the gospel, instead of becoming a means of creating trouble and strife, was really the best instrument to preserve peace and good conduct among the negroes." This was a persuasive argument. "In point of fact," recalled one churchman, "it was this conviction that ultimately opened the way for the gospel on the large plantations."
>
> Through religious instruction the bondsmen learned that slavery had divine sanction, that insolence was as much an offense against God as against the temporal master. They received the Biblical command that servants should obey their masters, and they heard of the punishments awaiting the disobedient slave in the hereafter. They heard, too, that eternal salvation would be their reward for faithful service, and

> that on the day of judgment "God would deal impartially with the poor and the rich, the black man and the white." Their Christian preceptors, Fanny Kemble noted, "jump(ed) the present life" and went on "to furnish them with all the requisite conveniences for the next."
>
> Numerous slaveholders agreed that this indoctrination had a felicitous effect. A committee of a South Carolina agricultural society reported that religion contributed much to "the government and discipline of the slave population." A traveler in Mississippi met a planter who was himself "a most decided infidel" but who nevertheless saw "the advantage of giving religious instruction to slaves." Many claimed that imparting Christian doctrine to impressionable slave children was especially beneficial. It taught them "respect and obedience to their superiors," made them "more pleasant and profitable servants," and aided "the discipline of a plantation in a wonderful manner."
>
> Others noticed a decline in theft when bondsmen "got religion." A Methodist missionary related a slave's confession that the Gospel "had saved more rice for massa than all the locks and keys on the plantation." Moreover, religious services on Sundays kept idle slaves at home and out of mischief. Indeed, one planter even used a Methodist exhorter as an overseer, with gratifying success; another, hearing of it, tried to get one too....
>
> The master class understood, of course, that only a carefully censored version of Christianity could have this desired effect. Inappropriate Biblical passages had to be deleted; sermons that might be proper for freemen were not necessarily proper for slaves. Church leaders addressed themselves to this problem and prepared special catechisms and sermons for bondsmen....Religion in short, should underwrite the status quo. (pp. 159-60)

Prior to 1855, Methodist worship services were conducted in private residences visited monthly by a circuit rider on horseback. It is not certain whether the Chester slaves were ministered to during this time. There is little doubt that slaves received the gospel after 1855, for this was the year Milford's first church, Carlton Methodist, was constructed. A history of the church tells of religion, slavery and life in ante-bellum Milford:

Randall Chester, son of the General Elias Chester who had commanded Fort Carlton, donated a tract of land, some eight acres in extent. This land lay on the west side of Carlton Road. A spot was selected, the over-burden of top soil was shoveled away, and the native underlying clay was dug up, fashioned into bricks and burned, right on the ground. Probably trees felled to provide an open site for the building were used as fuel for burning the bricks.

The entire congregation with many of their slaves, set to work on the new building....The architectual plans for the new building cost $10. The name of the architect has been lost. A statement of account rendered by Randall Chester in 1855 indicates that the church was built in that year or even possibly in the year before. This account shows that the total cost of the building was $2,414.62....Chester's statement shows that less than the total cost of the building had been collected and ends with the notation, "Due Randall Chester, $193." This indicated that he expected to be reimbursed for that amount.

The first building still exists. It is the "Chapel" portion of the present church plant. In the building as originally built the eastern end contained a gallery, about where the present loft is. This gallery was built to accomodate the negro slaves. The building had no basement or cellar, and was heated by two large stoves, one in the northwest corner and one in the southwest corner. Lighting was provided by a hugh chandelier of "coal oil" lamps, hung in the front center of the auditorium. A shed open to the north, extended westward from the northwest corner of the building and provided sheltered hitching for about ten horses. In good weather the many trees in the church yard furnished satisfactory hitching posts....

From the beginning, provision was made for a burial ground on the church property. Members of the church and their families were laid to rest in the portion of the grounds assigned for burials and permission was given to the negro slaves, and later to the emancipated freedmen to bury their dead on the outskirts of the church burial grounds....

In one early section of the Register we find a list of "colored members"...(which) shows that these members were taken into the church on probation at the time. Reading between the lines here, it would seem that the negro slaves who attended the church and sat in the slave gallery before the Emancipation Proclamation were not considered members.

("A Heritage of Living Faith", 1976, pp. 5-8)

Carlton Methodist Church remains an active White congregation to this day. While additions and improvements have been made, the original building still stands and is still in use. The photograph of Carlton Methodist Church, shown as Figure 6, was taken about the turn of the century before modifications were made.

Insert Figure 6 About Here

Religion was one of the subtler techniques used to induce slave conformity. Many of the methods were physical and a good portion of the slave's life was spent in fear of corporal punishment. There would seem to be little doubt that the whip was used on the Chester slaves, it remains only a question of how pervasive and severe were the lashings Milford's Blacks received:

> But the whip was the most common instrument of punishment--indeed, it was the emblem of the master's authority. Nearly every slaveholder used it, and few grown slaves escaped it entirely. Defenders of the institution conceded that corporal punishment was essential in certain situations; some were convinced that it was better than any other remedy. If slavery were right, argued an Arkansas planter, means had to be found to keep slaves in subjugation, "and my opinion is, the lash--not used murderously, as would-be philanthropists assert, is the most effectual." A Virginian agreed: "A great deal of whipping is not necessary; some is."
>
> The majority seemed to think that the certainty, and not the severity, of physical "correction" was what made it effective. While no offense could go unpunished, the number of lashes should be in proportion to the nature of the offense and the character of the offender. The master should control his temper. (pp. 174-175)

The most extreme forms of physical cruelty were reserved for capitol crimes such as the murder or rape of a White. Whether or not any

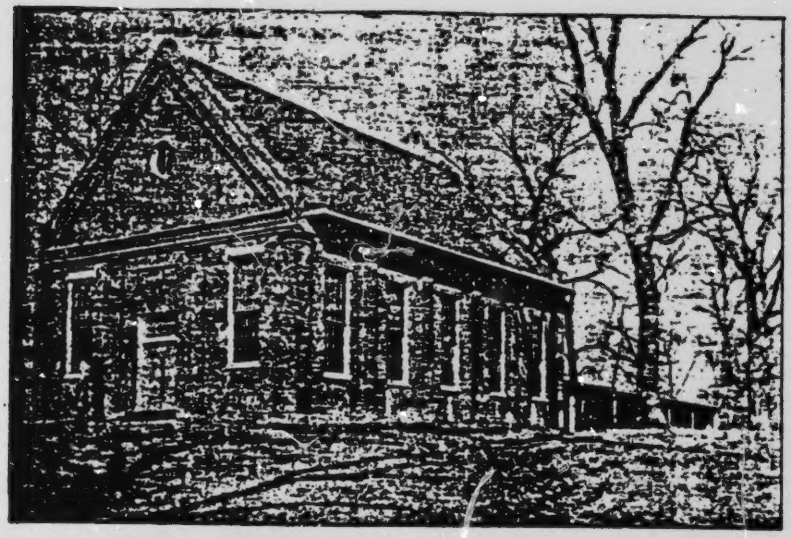


Figure 6: Carlton Methodist Church circa 1900

Chester slaves were ever punished for such crimes is not known, but it is very likely that most had at least heard stories of the kind that Shepard (1870) recounts concerning an incident in Metropolitan City in 1841:

> ...on the morning of the 18th of April, the citizens were roused by the cry of fire, and the firemen turned out with alacrity and proceeded to the east end of Pine street, where a large stone warehouse was on fire....
>
> The fire appearing general and the doors being closed, they were broken open and Jacob Walker found murdered, lying on the floor in a pool of his own blood. The whole building was on fire inside, and the adjacent building ignited and others in danger. No time was lost by the firemen; they commenced at once to confine the fire to the building already ruined, and while Mr. Thomas Clark, 1st engineer of the Metro Fire Company, was engaged directing a stream of water on the fire, a portion of the wall fell and instantly killed him. After the building was destroyed the remains of Mr. John Baxter were found in the ruins, who had also been murdered and the building fired to conceal the crime. It was subsequently found that both these young men had been murdered by four negroes to rob the owner of his money, which they failed to obtain. They were caught, all convicted, all confessed their guilt, and all were executed at the same time by being hanged on the same beam in presence of thousands of spectators, on an island in the Sauk in front of the city. This wholesale execution formed another epoch in Metropolitan City, and the expression, "since the negroes were hung" has not become entirely obsolete among the lads of Metropolitan City at this distant day.
> (p. 156)

There was only a limited range of options in response to hard labor, humiliation, cruelty, and oppression. One way of coping was for the slave to feign ignorance and incompetence:

> According to a former slave, the bondsmen had good reason for encouraging their master to underrate their intelligence. Ignorance was "a high virtue in a human chattel," he suggested, and since it was the master's purpose to keep his bondsmen in this state, they were shrewd enough to make him think he succeeded. A Virginia planter concluded from his own long experience that many slaveholders were victimized by the "sagacity" of Negroes whom they mistakenly thought they

understood so well. He was convinced that the slaves, "under the cloak of great stupidity," made "dupes" of their masters:

> "The most general defect in the character of the negro, is hypocrisy; and this hypocrisy frequently makes him pretend to more ignorance than he possesses; and if his master treats him as a fool, he will be sure to act the fool's part. This is a very convenient trait, as it frequently serves as an apology for awkwardness and neglect of duty." (p. 99)

In the following advertisement for a runaway placed in the Metropolitan Gazette in 1844, what was apparently taken for deafness may actually been "sagacity":

150 DOLLARS REWARD

> Ranaway from the subscriber on Sunday morning the 27th, a negro named WILLIAM; said boy is about 21 years of age, 5 feet 6 or 8 inches tall, dark complexion, pleasant countenance, large eyes exhibiting a good deal of white; when spoken to turns one side of his head to the speaker as though slightly deaf. He was well dressed and, I understand, purchased a new pair of shoes in the morning he left. He took with him a large raw boned sorrel horse, with long tail and mane, white legs, bald face, Roman nose, and show a good deal of white about the eyes. I will give $50 to any person, who finding the boy with the horse within the State, will return him to Woods Christy & Co. in Metropolitan City, or $150 if taken out of the State and returned to me in Metropolitan City; or I will give $100 if taken and secured in any jail outside the State so I can get him.
>
> Frank Roberts, Liguest County
> (Metropolitan Gazette, December 15, 1844)

Our chancing upon this ad led us to discover another of the early settlers of Milford. The home of Frank Roberts, built in 1842, still stands in an upper middle class neighborhood only two miles from the Kensington School.

Although the stick was used far more regularly than the carrot, it was not unheard of for a productive bondsman to to be rewarded with small amounts of money, a private garden patch, or a half a day off on Saturday. In some cases, masters even permitted slaves to purchase their freedom--perhaps as a compromise between profits and the pangs of conscience. It may have been that Randall Chester, if not his father also, offered Milford's slaves money and the prospect of freedom as an incentive to productivity, for Jessop (1927) asserts:

> Prior to the Civil War he (Randall) was a slave owner but he paid his slaves wages and was gradually freeing them--as they accumulated money enough to be independent of the support given them under the system of slavery. (p. 65)

Those slaves who were able to obtain their freedom were subject to very restrictive laws, which Scharf describes:

> The Midwest State Statutes of 1855 recognized the usual division of the African population of the State into two classes, the free negroes and mulattoes and the slaves. The laws in regard to free colored persons were very severe. No negro or mulatto could own firearms or ammunition, or any sort of weapon without a license from a justice of the peace. The county courts were required to have brought before them all free negroes and mulattoes in the county between the ages of seven and twenty-one years, and to bind them out to be apprentices or servants; "but no colored apprentice shall be placed in company with a free white apprentice." No colored person could live in this State without a license, and these licenses were to be issued only to certain classes of them; moreover, bond, not exceeding a thousand dollars, had to be given in security for good behavior. The negro was not allowed to retain in his possession the license or other free papers, though he could obtain them in the event of his moving from one county to another, as they had to be filed with the clerk of the county court where he resided. No free negro or mulatto could emigrate into the State, or enter the State, unless in the service of a white man, or for the purpose of passing through. In either case the time that he could remain in the borders was limited. If he stayed longer he was liable to arrest, a fine of ten dollars and expulsion. If the fine was not paid he was further liable to not more than twenty lashes, and the court could either order that he immediately leave the State or else hire him out until the fine, costs and expenses of imprisonment had been paid for by his labor. Any person keeping or teaching a school for the instruction of negroes and mulattoes in reading or writing was liable to a fine, not in excess of five hundred dollars and imprisonment not exceeding six months. No meeting or assemblage for the purpose of religious worship or preaching was permitted, where

> the services were performed by some of their own race, unless a sheriff, constable, marshal, public officer or justice of the peace was present. All meetings of negroes or mulattoes for the purpose of learning or religion, were declared unlawful assemblages, and it was made the duty of the public officers to suppress them. (p. 2081)

Severe restrictions notwithstanding, the life of a freeman was preferable to that of a slave. However, as the slave roster of 1846 indicates, the overwhelming majority of Chester slaves were unable to purchase freedom. For these, the only other route to freedom was to run away. While the punishment for fleeing the Chester farm was sure to have been severe, this risky course of action was apparently considered worth it by a slave names "Charles", a 24 year old man with a "very bright" complexion. It is not coincidental, we believe, that Charles absconded at the time of the settlement of the Chester Estate in 1845. Stampp describes some probable reasons for Charles' decision:

> In the quarters the bondsman formed enduring friendships. He became attached to the community--to the soil on which he labored and to the people who shared his hardships and fears, his hopes and joys. Between the slaves on a plantation there developed, one Southerner observed, "a deep sympathy of feeling" which bound them "closely together." It was back to old friends and familiar places that the runaway often fled. As a Kentucky slave began a dash for freedom, he "took an affectionate look at the well known objects" on his way and confessed that sorrow was mingled with his joy. The slave, explained Frederick Douglass, had "no choice, no goal, no destination; but is pegged down to a single spot, and must take root there or nowhere."
>
> This was why estate and execution sales were such tragedies; for each of them involved, besides the breakup of families, the disintegration of a community, the dispersion of a group of people who might have lived together for a generation or more. After the death of a Tennessee planter, one of his heirs noted that the slaves were "much opposed to being broken up." While Fanny Kenble resided on her husband's Georgia plantation, slaves came to her to express their gratitude that she had had children. They regarded the children as security "against their own banishment from the only home they knew,

> and separation from all ties of kindred and habit, and dispersion to distant plantations." These fears might have caused a group of slaves to grieve at the death of even a severe master. (pp. 332-333)

The decision to flee was no easy one. Once again, Stampp helps create a facsimile of Charles' thoughts at the time he fled Milford:

> Not only the slave's fear of capture but his limited knowledge of geography made the prospect of successful escape seem discouragingly dim. Frederick Douglass gave a graphic description of the fears he and several other slaves shared when they planned to escape. They were afraid that their owner would discover the plot, that he would discern their thoughts from their behavior. Often they wondered whether bondage might not be easier thasn the "doubts, fears and uncertainties" which now perplexed them. "The case, sometimes, to our excited visions, stood thus: At every gate through which we had to pass, we saw a watchman; at every ferry, a guard; on every bridge, a sentinel; and in every wood, a patrol or slave-hunter....No man can tell the intense agony which is felt by the slave, when wavering on the point of making his escape."
>
> Slaves in the Upper South knew that the probably penalty for an unsuccessful attempt at escape was to be sold to the Deep South. They knew that slaveholders in the border states seldom gambled with bondsmen who showed any inclination to seek freedom through flight. In fact, runaways were often sold to speculators at a reduced price even before they were recaptured. As they were driven southward, freedom slipped from their grasp forever.
>
> The mere threat of sale was an effective method of discouraging potential runaways. Many slaves believed that bondage in some distant state would be infinitely worse than the bondage they knew, because their masters painted terrifying pictures of what was in store for those who were sold. (p. 154)

As most owners who had a fugitive slave were inclined to do, Randall Chester offered a reward for the capture of Charles. The advertisement which appeared in the Midwest Gazette, and several out-of-state newspapers read as follows:

FIFTY DOLLARS REWARD

> Ranaway from the subscriber living on the Carlton Road, a negro man named CHARLES, twenty-four years old; six feet two inches high; white complexion; hair straight and brown; eyes blue; lips thick; and will be taken for a white man by any that does not know him. The above reward will be given if taken out of the state, or twenty-five if taken within the state, and all reasonable expenses paid if delivered.
> (Midwest Gazette, November 9, 1844)

An accounting of the expenses associated with Charles' escape helps us piece together fragments of his life as a fugitive. These expenses are shown as Figure 7.

Insert Figure 7 About Here

These records suggest that Charles was eventually captured in the free state of Ohio. Many Whites sought the rewards offered for the return of runaways, and indeed, a profession of "slave catchers" depended upon newspaper ads and tracking dogs to apprehend fugitives like Charles. The justice system supported the return of runawsys. Stampp describes the legal procedures applicable in Charles' case:

> Southern slave codes protected the owners of bondsmen who attempted to abscond by requiring officers to assist in their recapture and by giving all white men power to arrest them. Every state required the owner of a fugitive to compensate the captor for his trouble. Because of the magnitude of the problem, Kentucky obligated masters to pay a reward of one hundred dollars for runaways taken "in a State where slavery is not tolerated by law." In an effort to induce the return of fugitives escaping to Mexico, Texas promised a reward of one-third the value of a slave who fled "beyond the limits of the slave territories of the United States."
>
> A slave was legally a runaway if found without a pass beyond a certain prescribed distance from home--eight miles in Mississippi, twenty in Midwest. If his master could not be located or lived far away, the fugitive was delivered to a justice of

To:	Steam Boat Mountineer	16.00
	Henry House Cincinnati	5.00
	Stage at Cleveland	20.00
	Expenses on road to Cleveland	6.00
	Expenses at Cleveland	8.75
	Stage from Cleveland to Cincinnati	20.00
	Expenses from Cleveland to Cincinnati	8.00
	Expenses at Cincinnati	6.50
	Steam Boat to Lexington	16.00
	Paid John Calvert for gain 2 dollars per day, twenty days	44.00
	Services of Randall Chester	10.00
		160.25

Runaway daily 3 t & w to November 6	5.00
" Louisville Journal	3.00
" Peoria Register	3.00
" Cincinnati Gazette	3.00
Val. land D & W to December 2	15.00
printing 100 hf sheet bills	2.50
adv. valuable slaves sale January 1	3.00
" $200 reward	5.00
Total	$39.50

(Brockhoff, p. 80)

Figure 7: "EXPENSES OF GOING AFTER A SLAVE IN CLEVELAND"

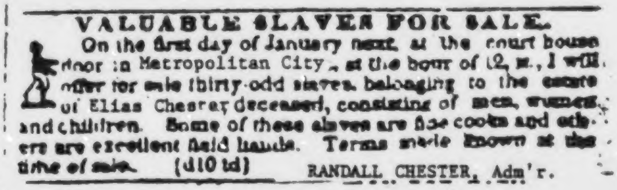
> the peace who committed him to jail. The slave of an unknown master was advertised for a period ranging from three months to one year, and if he was not claimed by the end of this time he was sold to the highest bidder. The proceeds of the sale, minus the reward, jail fees, and other costs, were recoverable by the master should be appear at some future date.
> (pp. 212-213)

The fate of Charles will never be known, but judging from Randall Chester's stop at Lexington, Kentucky on his return to Milford, it is very possible that Charles was sold in this center of slave trade. Charles, like most runaways, was probably shipped to the deep south. We conclude this section with another perspective on the institution of slavery as practiced in Liguest County. In the following account, Thomas (1911) conveys a sense of the paternalism common even among anti-slavery sympathizers:

> SLAVERY IN THE COUNTY
>
> An old tax levy of 1820, of which we have a transcript, includes, among the forms of wealth that were taxed, the item of slaves. There were then in the town of Metropolitan City less than two hundred taxpayers, who paid taxes on a total assessed valuation of not to exceed $300,000 and, aside from real estate, the slaves made up the bulk of the property assessed.
>
> Many families owned slaves; a great many did not. So far as our personal knowledge extends we never knew or heard of ill-treatment of slaves in the part of the county that was outside the city. The white boys played with the black ones, went a fishing with them in numerous instances, pulled weeds, hoed potatoes and shared in their tasks. Both men and women were treated with kindness and accorded many privileges. In most cases they were careless and happy, although, of course, the desire for freedom began to become more manifest the nearer we approached to the Civil war. The pathetic feature of slavery, one that had an appealing influence upon all properly constructed minds and hearts, was the tearing apart of the negro man and his wife, the separations (that we read about) of the mother and the child. This writer never had personal knowledge of cases of this nature among the slave-holding families of Liguest county. (pp. 105-6)

2.2.4 The Sale of the Chester Slaves.

The formal announcement that the lives of the Chester slaves were soon to change is shown below as it appeared in the Metropolitan Gazette in December of 1845:



VALUABLE SLAVES FOR SALE.

On the first day of January next, at the court house door in Metropolitan City, at the hour of 12 m., I will offer for sale thirty-odd slaves, belonging to the estate of Elias Chester, deceased, consisting of men, women, and children. Some of these slaves are fine cooks and others are excellent field hands. Terms made known at the time of sale. (d10 td)

RANDALL CHESTER, Adm'r.

There is little we can say with certainty about the destinies of the Chester slaves after the settlement of the estate. We believe that no more than five were either retained, able to purchase their freedom, or died. Seventeen were sold to new owners who are not listed among the landowners of early Milford. One of these was a man named Johan Edinburg, the buyer of "Daisey". Edinburg lived in Metropolitan City in 1846, and as the following biographical sketch indicates, he is counted among those who played an active role in the removal of Indian peoples:

> Johann Edinburg was born at Christiana Bridge, Delaware, in 1784....His grandparents, Fritz and Hilda Edinburg had immigrated from Germany in the earlier part of the eighteenth century, and settled in Delaware....He settled in the north part of Midwest State in 1819. Here he established an extensive general store and established branches in other cities. He also engaged in the manufacturing of hemp and tobacco....In 1835...under the firm name Edinburg and Johnson, he obtained the contract from the government for the removal of the Choctaws and the Seminoles from their residence in Northern Alabama to their present lands in the Indian Nation....In 1840, he entered the firm of Henry and Edinburg, which became large importers of sugar and tobacco from Havana...Johann Edinburg invested largely in lands in Metropolitan City. He died in Metropolitan City in 1857, aged seventy-three years.
> (Hyde and Conrad, 1899, Vol. 2, p. 903)

Edinburg's grandson, Kurt, purchased land in Milford before the turn of the century. Today a subdivision in Milford called Edinburg Village is sprawling over this land. Most of the children in this neighborhood attend Edinburg Elementary School.

Another 14 slaves were sold to neighbors of Randall Chester. Of these, 11 were purchased by one J. K. Upton, who also bought 350 acres of the Chester Farm for $10.00 per acre. Upton was an officer in the American Colonization Society. The road linking the Upton Estate with the Chesters was surely familiar to the 11 bondsmen sold in 1846 and they probably walked to their new quarters. This path became known as the Chester-Upton Road, a name it retained until the 1930's. One of the Chester slaves, a 14 year old boy named Frederick, was purchased by another neighbor of the Chesters, a physician named John Grant. The Grant family was among the founding members of Carlton Methodist, and are described in the church history as follows:

> At Carlton Methodist, the working force of the church consisted of the members of less than a dozen families....Of these families, perhaps one of the most outstanding is that of Dr. John Grant and his wife Ellen. The records show that these two withdrew their membership by certificate in 1861 and returned in 1866. During this period, Dr. Grant, a physician, served as a medical officer with the Confererate forces during the War Between the States. Upon returning to his old neighborhood, Dr. Grant became a hard worker in the church and in the community. He was a leader of the church for many years until his death in 1906. (p. 10)

The Grant School in modern Milford is located on property donated by the descendents of Frederick's owner, Dr. John Grant.

Another early Milford landowner who purchased Chester slaves was a man named Thomas Harmon. Property located about two miles east of the Chesters' became the new home and workplace for "Limerick" and "Rebecca". One hundred and twenty years later, the Kensington School was built on the fields they worked.

The majority of the Chester slaves sold at auction in 1846 probably lived through the Civil War and came to gain their freedom. In 1865, Midwest State drew up an article of emancipation which read:

> An ordinance abolishing slavery in Midwest State:
>
> Be it ordained by the people of the State of Midwest, in convention assembled: That hereafter in this State there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except in punishment of crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted; and all persons held of service or labor as slaves are hereby declared free. (Cited in Scharf, p. 2082)

Some of the Chester slaves, unprepared to live as freed men and women, probably stayed on with their former owners after emancipation as an earlier photograph might indicate. Others surely sought a new life in a society that only grudgingly accepted their new status. We have little data about Milford's post-bellum Black community until after the turn of the century. We shall continue that story in a later chapter.

3. COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN MILFORD'S REGIONAL CONTEXT

This chapter picks up the chronicle of the Milford community about 1845 and carries it forward to the year 1878. These years were turbulent ones marked by civil war, industrialization, economic ups and downs, and unprecedented population growth. The changes in Metropolitan City were no less than spectacular. In 1845, the City contained fewer than 36,000 residents. By 1880, the population had increased nearly ten fold, and well over a third of a million made the City their home. During this period the town of Gentle Valley, some eight miles to the southeast of Milford had become incorporated and grown to a population of about 800. Gentle Valley's importance in the day to day lives of the farm families of Milford, however, was eclipsed by Metropolitan City and gradually diminished by the development of two new communities on Milford's borders. The populations at Killian Station just to the north, and Gordonville to the east, would eventually surpass Gentle Valley by the late 1800's. However, in 1878, each town had only 30 or 40 families. The stretch of the Marquette Creek basin that became the Milford School District in 1947 retained its essential agrarain quality until after the turn of the century. There were, however, some important changes in the Milford community. Notable among these is the appearance of two one-room schools and a system of roads that included nearly every major thoroughfare existing in the modern era. The suburbanization of Milford, which we take up in the next chapter, began shortly after 1900. Yet a number of factors that shaped this development occurred in the decades preceding. A good many of these can be traced to the goings on in Metropolitan City, Gordonville, and Killian Station. Others originate in much broader contexts. The interests of manageability dictate that we restrict the scope of context we include in this narrative. This need, along with the desirability of continuity and a story line, has us anchoring much of our treatment of Milford in context around the development of the town of Gordonville. We will regularly digress to pick up relevant strands from contexts as proximal as Gentle Valley and Killian Station, or as distal as Germany and Ireland as we set about to examine the broader patterns that have become intersticked with the local, and have become imprinted upon the modern Milford community.

We have organized this chapter into two broad sections. The first considers the period prior to and including the Civil War. The second section continues the story of the development of Milford's regional context through the period of reconstruction.

3.1 The Beginnings of Gordonville: 1845-1865

At first we considered paying only abiding attention to the interdependencies between Milford and bordering communities such as Gordonville. We planned to mention that Gordonville was incorporated in 1894, and the wife of one descendent of its pioneer stock, Mrs. Irma Hauser, was one of Kensington's first teachers. We also considered simply pointing out that Gordonville annexed an unincorporated area in the Milford District in the 1970's, making hundreds of Kensington families also Gordonville residents. We could not, however, resign ourselves to merely mention these items in passing, and instead opted for a portrayal that would do justice to the complex historical interdependencies between Milford and its neighbor to the east.

One account of the founding of Gordonville was penned by the son of the city's first mayor:

> More than 100 years ago, in 1845 when the covered wagon provided the American mode of travel, an adventurous young man of Marietta, Ohio, with his bride, looked longingly toward the west. They hitched up their team and set off through the forests, farmlands, and pastures....They ferried the rivers and drove through the streets of the thriving river city of Metropolitan.
>
> At dusk, they found their promised land some 12 miles to the southwest of Metropolitan City. The glory of a Midwest State sunset gilded the tops of a clump of great oaks to the north. A series of gently rising hills, carpeted with rich, green grass, rolled off to the north and west.
>
> The young man's name was William B. Gordon. The spot where he made camp 100 years ago today is...now occupied by the sisters of St. Joan of Arc Catholic Church.
>
> Bill Gordon built a house amidst the oaks on the higher ground a half mile to the north. And today tall oaks still surround that same house...
>
> (Metro Press, 2-16-46)

When William Gordon settled near Milford's eastern border, another recent arrival to the area, Orville Killian, was developing a large plantation about three miles to the southwest. The following is a description of Gordon's neighbor, and the family whose name appeared on the first city charter when Killian Station was incorporated in 1946:

> Killian Station owes its existence to an obviously wealthy and evidently strongwilled Southern patriach.
>
> When Orville Killian left his native Virginia in 1839, he had in tow his six grown children, who quickly populated the area and eventually left their legacies of street names—Killian

> Station Road, of course; Ellen Avenue for one granddaughter; Lorraine Avenue for a great-granddaughter; Geller Boulevard, Smith and McCabe Avenues for the families into which the Killians married.
>
> In addition, Killian the elder brought $50,000 in gold and 40 slaves. The money bought a large farm; the slaves made bricks and built what amounted to a plantation house....
> (Metro Gazette, 5-10-82)

There can be little doubt that Randall Chester, William Gordon, and Orville Killian knew one another, and probably quite well. None lived more than five miles from either of the other two.

Another family which settled at the future site of Gordonville was named Hastings. The family of John and Mary Hastings was counted among the most prominent and influential citizens of Gordonville well into the twentieth century. Our geneological bias has us detouring momentarily, and returning to earlier times to examine the backgrounds of John and Mary Hastings. Thomas (1911) offers this account of John Hastings' forebears:

> The ancestry of the family is traced back to John Hastings, who came from England in early colonial days and settled in Virginia. His son, Robert, a native of the Old Dominion, served as adjutant general on the staff of Lafayette in the Revolutionary war. He was the father of Captain W. A. Hastings, also a native of Virginia, who won his title by active service in the war of 1812. The later was the father of John R. Hastings, a native of the Old Dominion, who in early manhood studied medicine and devoted his life to its practice. He was one of the pioneer settlers of Liguest county and on traveling westward made his way by steamboat down the Ohio and up the Mississippi river. He followed his profession with success for sixty-five years, and was long one of the most honored and prominent physicians of Liguest county. (p. 468)

Mary Belote Hastings, like her husband, was descendent of ancesters who participated in some important historical events. Her maternal line, three generations earlier, was numbered among the French settlers that Longfellow immortalized in the poem Evangeline:

> Acadie is the French name for the Nova Scotia (New Scotland) of 1755. Beginning with that year and continuing for ten years, Acadia was the scene of a pathetic struggle between the disquieted French inhabitants and their English rulers, which finally resulted in their practical annihilation as a colony and their perpetuation as dismembered families and individuals along the Atlantic coast, in the Illinois district and eventually, in 1765, materially increasing the population of Louisiana. Six hundred and fifty of them formed settlements in Attakapas and Opelousas parishes, Louisiana.
>
> Among these sorrow-stricken exiles were women and children--a part of the band of which Evangeline was the most illustrious member--who traveled up the St. Lawrence, traversed the weary wilds of Illinois, reached and came down the Mississippi, were Madam La Ferne and her two daughters, Marie and Constance. Leaving the main body of expatriated Acadians, these ladies finally made their way to a military post just above the town of Crow Feather, which latter place was, in 1765, the metropolis of the vast territory drained by the Mississippi river. An old record says that Crow Feather's population then numbered 6,000 souls, and that for many years she supplied the settlers at Eagle's Nest, Metropolitan City, and Crow Feather with stores of all kinds.
>
> Shortly after Madam La Ferne's arrival, Marie La Ferne married Dr. Andre Auguste Callot, a post-surgeon at the Fort. Dr. Callot and wife soon removed to Metropolitan City. He was the first general practitioner of medicine at Metropolitan City.
> (Thomas, 1911, pp. 294-5)

Mary's grandfather was a successful fur trader in Metropolitan City in the 1790's. Her father, Rene Belote, was a prominent attorney in Metropolitan City, and one of the first faculty members of the newly formed City University in the 1820's. One of Belote's colleagues, Francis Torrance, in reminiscing about this era, describes a tragic event in the life of Mary Belote Hastings:

> Industrial pursuits never had a firmer hold on the people of Midwest State than in the spring of 1826. They had seen themselves relieved thereby from the evils of credit and banking

systems, and seemed encouraged in their laudable efforts by the ready sale of all their surplus products to the constantly increasing numbers of new comers crowding into the State in search of new homes and a more extended field for their industrial operations and enterprises.

Everything seemed to have a natural growth and stimulant. Trade, though not brisk, was greatly extended and steadily increasing. All freighting was now done by steamboats on all the rivers, and coal began to be used for warming dwelling houses in the city. The mining for lead in the vicinity of Dubuque, Iowa, and Fevre river and Galena, Illinois, gave great animation to all commercial operations in Metropolitan City, connected with the trade on the Upper Mississippi, and during the year doubled the trade on that stream, which has increased rapidly since that period. The fur trade... was prosecuted with its usual activity, but not in the laborious mode of former years. Steamboats had taken the place of barges; engines had assumed the labors of men, and steam had half annihilated distance and time. Trappers, hunters and voyageurs no longer paid their yearly visits in barges to Metropolitan City. They were seen no more on the streets, nor heard chatting with their wives and children round the tables spread in the piazzas of their little cottages surrounded with flowers and highly cultivated inclosures. A new age had overtaken and expelled them.

Early in this year the classical department of studies in the Metropolitan City College on Second street, near the Cathedral, was suspended preparatory to aiding in establishing the Metropolitan City University on the site it now occupies. It is the region's first chartered literary institution and deservedly the most celebrated in the city. Its character is as well known and its documents as readily recognized at Copenhagen, St. Petersburg and Moscow as at Rome.

The site of the old Metropolitan City College is now occupied by immense commercial buildings, and all the professors who ever taught in the institution except one are dead.

Mr. Rene Belote, who examined the senior class of 1823 and eulogized it for its perfection, and who was regarded as the most accomplished scholar in the city at that day, is also dead. His death forms a part of the sad history of Metropolitan City. Mr. Rene Belote was a lawyer of great eminence and had no equal as an orator or scholar in the city. He was emphatically the French people's shield from the sharpers of that day, as he spoke their language purely and was always accessible to them, being a gentleman of most fascinating manners and kind feelings.

He had just finished the defense of a client before a jury in the office of Justice Perkins, in the old Masonic Hall

> building, when Frank Simmon, a young lawyer about twenty-two years old, who was not engaged in the pending suit, but stood near him, intimated to Mr.Belote, in low words or by signs, that he wished to have a private interview with him outside the office, and immediately stepped out of the office followed by Mr. Belote.
>
> In an instant Mr. belote was heard to say, "You are acting like a savage." A juror, who was sitting near the window, looked out and saw the two men facing each other, and Mr. Simmons with a dirk in his right hand striking over Mr. Belote's left shoulder into his body, who immediately fell and expired.
>
> Mr. Simmons was immediately arrested and committed to jail to await the action of the grand jury. He was confined in a cell with one John Brewer, under sentence of death for perjury in a capital case. On the night preceding the day set for his execution he broke jail, with Simmons and several others, most of whom were recaptured; but Simmons made his escape to Mexico, where he died a few years since, in the city of Matamoras, in the State of Tamaulipas, of mania potu.
>
> (Torrance, 1870, pp. 82-4)

Rene Belote's daughter Mary later married Dr. John Hastings and moved from Metropolitan City to Gordonville shortly after William Gordon settled in the area.

A whole range of events form a backdrop to the founding of Gordonville in 1845. From across the Atlantic, immigrants were arriving at the rate of 200,000 per year. These newcomers included English workers displaced by industrialization, political refugees from Germany, and many other Europeans seeking freedom and prosperity. The Irish were the most populous immigrant group at this time. The potato blight of 1845 starved a million of the island's eight million inhabitants, and sent another million to America in the decade that followed. When William Gordon took title to his property, U. S. relations with Mexico were particularly tense. The annexation of Texas in 1845 escalated into war the following year. Guided by a righteous sense of Manifest Destiny, American troops siezed Mexico City and through the treaty of Guadalupe Hildalgo, acquired the territories of California and New Mexico. The admission of Texas as a slave state only heightened regional tensions and increased the threat of disunion.

Between 1835 and 1845, Metropolitan City quadrupled its population, reaching about 36,000 by the latter date. It was early in this period that the first public school opened its doors. Blacks, of course, were denied the benefits of education and a state law passed in 1847 gave formal legal sanction to this practice. The force of the law notwithstanding, the education of Blacks began about the same time the first schools for Whites were opening. A Metropolitan City journalist of the modern era writes:

> John Nolan came to Metropolitan City in 1815. He was born a slave in Virginia. After learning the cooper's trade, he was able to buy his freedom. As a freedman in Metropolitan City he prospered financially as the owner of a barrel factory.
>
> He was ordained the city's first Black minister and turned his church into a school to teach Black children to read and write. That was an unpopular venture at the time, and it ended with a sheriff's raid on the church-school and the arrest of a White teacher.
>
> But that didn't stop Nolan's determination to teach Black children. Neither did a Midwest State law passed in 1847 that made it a crime to teach Blacks to read and write. To circumnavigate the law, Nolan turned one of the three supply boats he owned into a freedom school with classes held in the middle of the Sauk River. (Metro Gazette, 3-3-82)

It was not long after they arrived at Gordonville that the Hastings built a home befitting of their social position and began to raise a family. Their first of eight children was born in 1850 in the home shown as Figure 8. The boy christened James Hastings was destined to become Gordonville's first mayor 44 years latter.

Insert Figure 8 About Here

Around the time of James Hastings' birth, the nation was entering a period of unparalled prosperity. The Pre-emption Act passed nine years earlier permitted "squatters" to purchase land cheaply. The acquisition of Mexican territory and the discovery of gold in California drew scores of thousands into and through Metropolitan City. In 1850, two-thirds of the nation's population made its living in agriculture, and "king cotton" was the nation's primary export. While steamboats reigned on the rivers, clipper ships broke transatlantic speed records and had successfully penetrated the ports of China. In spite of prosperity, the issue of slavery was increasingly threatening to disunify the nation. The Compromise of 1850 temporarily eased some of the north-south tension by providing cessions in each region's interests. The north was temporarily appeased by the admission of California to the union as a free state, and the discontinuation of slave trade in the District of Columbia. The south gained tighter fugitive slave laws, and the principal of "popular sovereignty" to resolve the issue of slavery in the territories of Utah and New Mexico.

More locally, Irish, German, and Italian immigrants continued to pour into Metropolitan City. Relief societies, such as the German Immigrant Aid Society, and the Ancient Order of Hibernians sought to

Figure 8: Photograph of the Hastings' Home in Gordonville
(In Thomas, 1911, p. 295)

cushion the transition of their countrymen. The Erin Benevolent Society, formed in 1818 for the "relief of our countrymen in distress" (Sharf, p. 1758) was one of the first such organizations. One of the society's founders, Sean Maloney, held residences in both Metropolitan City and Gentle Valley. So significant have been his contributions to the region, that we are obliged to momentarily depart from our chronology to mention the impact this contemporary of Elias Chester had upon the region that includes Gordonville.

Garraghan (1923) provides a biography of this Irish immigrant who became Midwest State's first millionaire:

> He was settled as a merchant-trader in Metropolitan City in 1803, year of the Louisiana Purchase; and here, shrewd business acumen coupled with a widespread reputation for honesty made him prosper beyond his competitors. Two things especially are said to have been the corner-stones on which he erected the structure of his princely fortune. One was his corner on the cotton market at the close of the war in 1812, the earliest recorded achievement of the kind and a short of milestone in the history of American business methods.
>
> The other was his purchase of a Spanish grant of ten thousand arpents at two cents the arpent. No citizen of Midwest State of his day invested on a larger scale in real estate than Sean Maloney. Scores of Spanish land grants, especially in Liguest County, passed from their original Creole proprietors into the hands of this shrewd, but never unfair or grasping Irish emigrant. (p. 71)

While Maloney's place in regional history was assured by the sheer fortune he amassed, it is for the uses to which his wealth was put that Maloney is most fondly remembered. Some of Maloney's philantropic activities are described as follows:

> As to what the Maloney wealth meant for Metropolitan City, one need not go beyond the testimony of Thomas Cory, four times mayor of Metropolitan City, who wrote of him: "A man of great

> enterprise, foresight, judgment, he contributed more than any other individual to the building of Metropolitan City."
>
> One might dispute Sean Maloney's claim to the recognition and especially the gratitude of posterity if he had amassed his millions for purely private and personal ends. But his great fortune or much of it went to the financing of benevolent and humanitarian enterprises of various kinds. He founded and financed Maloney Hospital in Metropolitan City, the first hospital in the region, calling the Sisters of Charity from Maryland to undertake its management. He established the Religious of the Sacred Heart in Metropolitan City, giving them property and an initial endownment of money with which to carry on their educational labors; and in connection with their convent he established an Orphan Asylum, furnishing in perpetuity the material means for its support. Finally, in his will he left $3,000 for an aged widows' home and $22,000 for orphanages for boys to be established by Catholic Bishops throughout the United States. These, however, are to be reckoned among his major and more formal benefactions; his repeated minor, off-hand charities left no record behind. (1923. pp. 72-3)

The town of Gentle Valley also benefited by its association with Sean Maloney. A common faith in Catholicism had this Irishman assimilated easily into this French farm community:

> Sean Maloney's connection with Gentle Valley began a few years after his arrival in Metropolitan City. In what precise year he moved from the city to the smaller place is uncertain, though as early as 1808 he had acquired the old Spanish government-house in Gentle Valley, the use of which, as we shall see, he offered to a group of Trappist monks. As the period of the admission of Midwest State to the Union, Maloney had become fully identified with Gentle Valley where he resided with his family. In that same year he defrayed at least one-sixth of the cost of the erection of the new brick church in Gentle Valley in which, in recognition of this generous aid, two pews were reserved gratis to him and his descendants in perpetuity. (1923, p. 73)

In addition, Sean and Mary Maloney were benefactors who helped make possible the founding and continued support of a Jesuit seminary in Gentle Valley, and in later years, a public school in Metropolitan City.

The Maloney's had 15 children. One of their daughters, Jane, married an Irish immigrant by the name of Patrick Donnelly, and the two settled in Gordonville around the same time as the Hastings and Gordons. The road which stretched westward from their property to link up with the Chester-Upton Road was known as the Donnelly Road. After the turn of the century, the Chester-Upton and Grant Roads which bisected Milford and linked it with Gordonville were both renamed Donnelly Road. Jane Donnelly passed away at the age of 74. Garraghan says of Sean Maloney's daughter:

> Mrs. Donnelly became the mother of seventeen children, among them Father Thomas Donnelly, a distinguished priest of the Society of Jesus. She survived all the other children of Sean and Mary Maloney, dying in 1891 at the age of 74 at her estate in Gordonville, Liguest County. Her benefactions were numerous and the tradition of open-handed philanthropic and charitable endeavor left behind by her father was safe in her keeping. (1923, p. 75)

Our curiosity about two sizeable parcels of land in the heart of Gordonville which an old plat book labelled "Maloney Emigrant Relief Fund" led us to discover the regional influence of another Maloney descendent, Bryan, son of Sean and Mary Maloney and brother of Jane Donnelly. Bryan's last will and testiment tells of the origin and purpose of this acreage in Gordonville:

> I, Bryan Maloney, do make and declare the following to be my last will and testament:
>
> One equal undivided third of all my property, real, personal, and mixed, I leave to the city of Metropolitan, in the State of Midwest, in trust, to be and constitute a fund to furnish relief to all poor emigrants and travelers coming to Metropolitan City, on their way, bona fide, to settle in the West.

> I do appoint FELIX DAMIEN and PETER G. BORCH executors of this my last will and testament, and of any other will or executory devise that I may leave; all and any such document will be found to be olograph, all in my own handwriting.
>
> In testimony whereof, witness my hand and seal.
>
> BRYAN MALONEY (SEAL)
> (Cited in Scharf, 1883, p. 1762)

The regional importance of the Maloney Family merits many more pages than we are able to devote to the subject, and certainly justifies this brief digression from our central story line.

The early 1850's was marked by some important events in Metropolitan City. One significant area of change was in education. The City's first two public schools were built in 1838. Each school employed two teachers. Bryan Maloney was a member of the committee that examined and credentialed these teachers. Between 1840 and 1850, the population of Metropolitan City nearly quintupled, reaching nearly 78,000. Eight more schools were built between 1841 and 1853. The last of these was a high school, the first in the region. It was in this time, as Hyde and Conrad (1899) indicate, that local and state funding of education began:

> The first tax levied by the school board amounted to $18,000. This was in 1850. But in 1854 the school board received its proportion of the State revenue for the support of free schools, amounting to one-quarter of the entire State revenue. Metropolitan City received $27,456, and this added to the $50,000 collected from the one mill tax gave a total income of more than $87,000. (p. 2014)

At the same time, small one-room schools began springing up in Liguest county. As we needn't remind the reader, free schooling was a privilege accorded to White children only.

Only a year before the first high school opened, the first train steamed across a short span of tracks in the city. The celebration that attended this event is worth recounting, for besides capturing some of the general ambience of 130 years ago, it also gives a sense of the military, civic and political organization of the era, and the prominence of ethnic and religious organizations in the community fabric:

> The event was the occasion of a great popular demonstration, in which the entire city participated. The day was introduced with a national salute by the Midwest State Artillery, under the commany of Captain Henry Smith. At an early hour the city in every portion was filled with the members of the civil and military societies who designed to join in the procession. Chief Marshal Griffin had announced that the march to the ground would commence punctually at eight o'clock A.M., and accordingly as early as half-past seven the various associations, orders, companies, clubs, etc., began to pour into Main Street from all quarters. The city had seldom witnessed such an enlivening spectacle as that displayed previous to the forming of the procession. Flags were flying from the tops of engine buildings and public-houses, and streamed from the windows of newspaper offices, or floated over the street at many points; numerous detachments of military corps were dashing to their various places of rendezvous; squads of civil societies were coming to view from every corner, and the whole was enlivened by the inspiring sounds of music. Soon after seven o'clock an immense multitude thronged Main Street from Adams Avenue, where the head of the line rested, a distance of several blocks. The line formed on Main Street, and shortly before eight o'clock the chief marshal assembled his aids and assistants and instructed them in regard to the duties assigned them. The band of the Metropolitan City Grays was then ordered to its post, and the following officers also took the places previously agreed upon: ....
>
> The chief marshal then arranged the procession in the following order:
>
> Chief Marshal and his Aids.
> Metropolitan City Grays' Brass Band.
> Governor, his Aids, Heads of the Departments.
> President, Directors, and Company of the West Railroad.
> Corps of Engineers.
> Orator of the Day and Invited Guests.
> Judiciary of the Eighth Circuit and
> Officers of the several Courts.

Mayor and Board of Aldermen,
Delegates, and Executive Officers of
the City. Editorial Corps.
Metropolitan City Grays.
Midwest State Dragoons.
Midwest State Artillery.
Metropolitan City Yagers.
Union Swiss Guards.
Metropolitan City Fire Department.
Ancient Order of Free and Accepted Masons.
Hibernian Benevolent Society.
Catholic Total Abstinence and Benevolent Society.
St. Vincent Orphan Society.
German Roman Catholic Society.
Metropolitan City Musical Club.
Social Glee Club.
Metropolitan City Gymnastic Society.
German Benevolent Society.
United Association of Free Men.
Sons of Temperance.
German Catholic Total Abstinence Society.
United Ancient Order of Druids.
United Patriotic Refugee Association.
Citizens in Carriages.
Citizens on Horseback.

> Arrived at the grand stand, which had been erected at Devareux's homestead for the speakers and invited guests, the band performed the "Grand West Railroad March," which had been composed for the occasion by Mr. Green, after which Col. Thorton Griffin, the grand marshal, announced the order of proceedings, and then introduced the president of the railroad company, Thomas Baxter. Mr. Baxter delivered an interesting address, in which he reviewed the history of the road up to that time.... (Scharf, 1883, pp. 1153-4)

With as many prominent citizens as there were in Gentle Valley township, there can be little doubt that more than a few families from around Gordonville and Milford were present at the christening of the railway. Surely J. K. Upton, the Chesters' neighbor who bought the largest lot of their slaves, was on hand for the celebration. Upton was a member of the Railroad Planning Committee, and one who got in on the ground floor of the City's first big business. Parades and progress notwithstanding, the disquieting feelings about slavery were amplified by the recent Kansas-Nebraska Act and the publication of Stowe's Uncle Tom's Cabin.

In England, fully one in five workers was employed in the textile industry. The invention of the sewing machine by Elias Howe a decade earlier made possible the production of inexpensive garments, and created new worldwide markets. In turn the demand for cotton was stronger than ever. In less than a half a decade the railroads were to be a decisive factor in the economic and political fortunes of the nation. The north's economic status was strengthened by its railroad connections into the midwest, for a variety of agricultural products and raw materials were exchanged with the northeast industrial sector in return for manufactured goods. These economic ties lessened somewhat the local and regional sentiment in favor of slavery. So divisive still was the slavery question that the Whig party, unable to reach a position on the issue, dissolved in the mid 1850's. United States foreign policy continued in the spirit of Manifest Destiny. President Pierce offered to buy Cuba from Spain for $130,000,000. When Spain refused, several American diplomats drafted documents urging that Cuba should be taken by force—a suggestion in flagrant violation of the Monroe Doctrine of 1823. While this manifesto was denounced by the Secretary of State, armed adventurers supported by southerners made several attempts to seize Cuba, and were once successful at briefly installing a dictator in Nicaragua. The opening of western lands spurred the Federal government to acquire less arduous transportation routes to the Pacific. The Gadsden Purchase in 1853, extended the south border of New Mexico and gave the United States control of the lowest pass across the Rockies.

The need for navigation routes to the west had both Britain and the United States competing to extend each's influence in Central America. These tensions between the two English speaking countries were reduced considerably with the signing of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, pledging support to the building of an inter-ocean canal.

1855 was a most significant year for the region around Milford and Gordonville. As we recall from the last chapter, this was the year the Carlton Methodist Church was built. This was also the year that the railroad came to Gordonville. To this point we have been referring to Gordonville as if it existed as a named community. In fact, it was not until the coming of the railroad that the small community east of Milford gained a collective identity. James Hastings' grandson tells of the naming of Gordonville:

> In 1855, a railroad...began crawling northward from Metropolitan City. Bill Gordon, weighing and appreciating progress, gave the railroad a right of way on the western edge of his property. The railroad built a frame depot near the site of the present more pretentious structure. And out of gratitude --the man who gave the land for the right of way it was named "Gordon Depot." (Metro Press, 2-16-46)

The tracks that bordered William Gordon's property also passed James Killian's land in the same year the wealthy patriarch died. A depot was built on the Killian property and a source of community identity was achieved in much the same way as Gordonville, three miles down the track. The religious, educational, and economic substructure to the Killian community was shaped in this era for:

> After Killian's death in 1855, the home went to the Baptist Association and later to an educator who turned it into a school for "young ladies."

> His widow eventually began to sell parcels of land to reasonably well-off residents of Metropolitan City who followed the railroad when it opened the area to commuters and greater commerce with Metropolitan City.
>
> (Metro Gazette, 5-10-82)

From 1855 well into the twentieth century, the fortunes of Gordonville and Killian Station were intertwined with the railroad.

James Hastings was only five years old when the railroad connected Gordonville with Metropolitan City, and there is hardly a doubt that young James was among the wide-eyed witnesses to this historic event. It is also likely that a number of Milford residents--the Chesters, Grants, Uptons--were on hand that memorable day as well. They probably traveled east by horseback along the Chester-Upton Road. Crossing the intersection of Richmond Road, they continued east to the new Gordon Depot. Many signs of progress were evident to those visitors from Milford. Recent legislation by the Midwest State General Assembly provided for significant road improvements on the Richmond Road. The "Plank Road Law"[8]:

> ...provided that the roads be 50 feet wide, the wooden part being from eight to twelve feet in width and constructed of two and a one-half inch oak planks laid on three oak sills lengthwise in the roadway. Construction cost about $3,000 a mile. It was through tolls that the roads were supposed to profit. Charters fixed the rate at a penny or two a mile for various kinds of vehicles, riders on horseback, or drivers of stock. (Hertich, 1935, p. 1)

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[8] The petition that resulted in Richmond Road's improvement read, in part: "that the old road which leads from the ferry to Metropolitan City was laid out by United States soldiers more for the purpose of the express...to headquarters, and it is difficult to use it even on horseback" (1935, p. 17). The unprofitability of the plank roads resulted in their discontinuation by the Civil War, when macadam surfacing was applied to the roads.

Only a couple of years after the railroad passed through Gordonville, a very significant event occurred in this small community. Gordonville opened a public school, a one-room log cabin which James Hastings attended. While information about this school is quite scarce,[9] it is very probably that the school was not at all different from Thomas' (1911) description of "a typical school of the 1850's" in Liguest County:

> The old-time school house was often built of round logs, chinked with mortar made of mud. It was a one-room affair, square, and twelve to twenty feet in dimensions. Of windows it had two, sometimes four, and the sash were glazed with 8 x 10 panes of glass. Some of the very primitive schools had real old school benches, benches that defied time to even make them time-worn in appearance. They were made of split logs, the round side of each half being fitted with peg legs. The upper or flat side was made smooth with the broadaxe and the drawing knife. It is possible that one or two of this more antique type of schools still exist in Liguest County, but scarcely probable. The reading and other books in the long ago were varied as to author and outward appearance and heterogeneous as to character of contents. Later, a few years, there was improvement in respect to furnishing and attempts at systematic courses of study, but none, from the pupils' point of vision, as affecting more room or greater length of term. The text books used in the school, we believe to be a type in 1850, were primers for the little children, six to eight years old. From this age the pupils ranged in years up to the age of 18, and varied in size to correspond. For these were prescribed McGuffey's First, Second, Third and Fourth Readers, Ray's Arithmetic, Mitchell's Geography, Goodrich's History, Webster's Spelling Book and Webster's Definer. The art of penmanship was taught in copy books made by stitching sheets of foolscap paper together. This was done by the parents. The children carried their copy books to the teacher's desk and he "set the copy" at the top of the page in each book. The copy was usually some maxim or wise saw, such as:

---

[9] Conversations with the President of the Gordonville Historical Society confirm the existence of a one room log cabin school and that James Hastings did attend. Thomas makes the brief statement "his early education was acquired in the public schools of Gordonville", (p. 468). Clearly only one school existed in Gordonville during this time and we estimate its origin to be around 1857.

> Procrastination is the thief of time.
> Command you may your mind from play.
> Contentment is a virtue.

A little later the master was able to get slips of engraved copies of these and other sentences to be used for copy.

Then, as now, the length of the term depended upon the will of the voters who chose to attend the annual school meeting and vote upon the matter. The State contributed a limited amount, local taxation a little more, patrons sometimes were willing to add to the fund, and a teacher could be secured who stayed three to five or six months, depending for his tenure of the position upon the amount of the district's resources. The teacher was paid from $20 to $47.50 a month, and eked out his subsistence by boarding around, free of charge, at the homes of his pupils' parents. The professional teacher of those days is described as having been a person of education, but, with honorable exceptions, lazy and ambitionless, never stopping long in one community, and sometimes quitting the job before the term was ended. This accounts for the fact that many of our most intelligent citizens could never succeed in getting past "Baker" in the speller, and were confined to the first part of Ray's Arithmetic during all of their rural school life. Notwithstanding which, succeeding as they have, with almost insurmountable obstacles in the way of educational progress, what height of advancement might not those men have attained, who have become our senators and mayors, despite the scholastic insufficiency of their school days? When they got to "Baker" (on the twenty-first page of a 168-page book) the school would close. Ichabod would fade away, and his shiny suit with the slick knees and elbows would be forgotten before his successor started another lot of children on the much-traveled road to Baker the next winter.

Goodrich's History, alluded to as one of the text books, was first published by Rev. C. A. Goodrich, in 1822. For a long time it surpassed all rivals in popularity. In a dozen years 150,000 copies were sold. In 1832, it was produced in a thick 12mo, with forty-eight engravings and a map.

In those days churches, as Judge Steines says of his section, were far apart. The one-room schoolhouses were pressed into the service of the Lord and the Baptists, Methodists and, possibly, the Presbyterians would sit upon the benches and listen to exhortations from...(various preachers)....

It was an expected thing in those days to transform the schools into Sunday schools. Indeed, to use the word that was not uncommon, they were "obleeged" to. (pp. 64-6)

The contrasts in education as practiced in Gordonville and Metropolitan City in 1857 are noteworthy. When the City hired Irving Cooley as superintendent of schools, many large scale reforms were enacted. Cooley's successor, Terrence Greer (1899) characterized the educational system which was to become increasingly influential around Gordonville and Milford in later years:

> In 1857 Irving Cooley succeeded Karl I. Sims in the office of city superintendent of schools. The Normal School was established that year with Stanley Fisher from the Normal School at Salem, Massachusetts, as its principal. Mr. Cooley pushed forward vigorously the reforms in school building and the plans which he recommended have been substantially adhered to in the entire subsequent history of the schools. These reforms related to the construction of school houses, the size of the rooms, methods of lighting and heating, styles of furniture, modes of organization and classification of schools, methods of instruction. The buildings were modeled on the plan first introduced into Boston in the celebrated Quincy School of 1848. The capacity of schools at this time (1857) amounted to 5,361 seats; the city, however, contained 135,000 inhabitants, and the school attendance should have been from twenty to twenty-five thousand. Since 1847, the migration into Metropolitan City had increased enormously and it was high time that the board of public schools should take into consideration a new policy with regard to the increase of school accommodations....Improvements were made from time to time on the style of building adopted in these structures, but the general plan has been substantially retained in all the architecture that has followed in Metropolitan City. The foundation idea of it is that there should be four rooms on each floor, each room placed at the corner and getting light from two windows at the back of the room and two windows at the side of the room, thus insuring a sufficiency of light and a sufficiency of ventilation in the hot days of the Metropolitan City summer. A hallway passes through the building from side to side, separating two rooms on the left and two rooms on the right. Stairways for the boys separate from the stairways for the girls, lead to separate play grounds. Under this arrangement each teacher instructs two classes and supervises their studies. A school organized in this way can be managed with very much less corporal punishment than on the earlier plan...and where a school of five hundred pupils would have from one to two hundred cases of corporal punishment in the course of one week in 1857, it was not uncommon for a school of seven hundred pupils in 1877 to have only two cases of corporal punishment a week. By Mr.

> Cooley's recommendation the school board passed a rule promising to select for promotion those teachers who succeeded in managing their schools by a minimum amount of corporal punishment. Corporal punishment was not forbidden, but this rule proved a very wise measure, inasmuch as it reduced in a few years the corporal punishment to one per cent of its former amount and at the same time elevated the average discipline of the schools. In the school discipline great stress was laid upon regularity and punctuality, and, while in 1857, there was as many as three hundred cases of tardiness per year for each one hundred pupils, by 1876 this number had been reduced to one-sixth the former number. This, of course, meant great attention on the part of parents and pupils to punctuality. In a civilization which uses machinery and accomplishes great results the habit of being on time is very important. Under Mr. Cooley the first program of the course of study was made out. By general inquiry throughout the schools it was found what the pupils in each grade could accomplish in a term of ten weeks of study. (1899, pp. 2014,15)

Before the Civil War began, the first graded school appeared in Metropolitan City. The National Education Association, which over a hundred years later was to take a role in shaping the Milford School District's destiny, was organized the same year Irving Cooley took office.

As the nation teetered on the edge of war, regional demographics were such that Metropolitan City's population had doubled since 1850. Census data enumerates the "colored" population at 3,500, or about two percent of the total. In Liguest County, Blacks numbered about 11% of the 20,000 inhabitants. In Gentle Valley Township, the proportion of Blacks was even higher—about 20% of the 4,300 residents. In the nation as a whole, some four million slaves made up 13% of the population. In this era, the landmark Dred Scott decision was handed down by the United States Supreme Court. Hyde and Conrad (1899) tell of the background and circumstances of this historic case:

> Dred Scott was a slave, born in Missouri about 1810. "About 1834," says the sketch of him which appears in "Appleton's

Encyclopedia of American Biography," "he was taken by his master, Dr. Emerson, an army surgeon, from Missouri to Rock Island, Illinois, and then to Fort Snelling, in what was then Wisconsin Territory. Here he married, and two children were born to him. On his return to Missouri he sued in the circuit court of St. Louis to recover his freedom and that of his family, since he had been taken by his master to live in a free State. Scott won his case, but his master now appealed to the State Supreme Court, which, in 1852, reversed the decision of the lower tribunal. Shortly afterward the family were sold to a citizen of New York, John F.A. Sandford, and as this afforded a ground for bringing a similar action in a Federal court, Scott sued again for his freedom, this time in the United States Circuit Court in St. Louis, in May, 1854. The case was lost, but an appeal was made to the United States Supreme Court, and the importance of the matter being realized by a few eminent lawyers, several offered to take part in the argument. Those on Scott's side were Montgomery Blair and George T. Curtis, while those opposed to him were Reverdy Johnson and Henry S. Beyer. None of these asked for compensation. The case was tried in 1856, and the judgment of the lower court was affirmed. A brief opinion was prepared by Justice Nelson, but before its public announcement it was decided by the court that, in view of the importance of the case and its bearing on the whole slavery question, which was then violently agitating the country, Chief Justice Taney should write a more elaborate one. Taney's opinion was read March 6, 1857, two days after the inauguration of President Buchanan, and excited intense interest throughout the country on account of its extreme position in favor of slavery. It affirmed, among other things, that the act of Congress that prohibited slavery north of latitude 36 degrees 30 minutes was unconstitutional and void. Thomas H. Benton said of this decision that it made a new departure in the working of the government, declaring slavery to be the organic law of the land, while freedom was the exception. The passage that was most widely quoted and most unfavorably commented upon was that in which Taney described the condition of the negroes at the adoption of the Constitution, saying: "They had for more than a quarter of a century before been regarded as beings of an inferior order, and altogether unfit to associate with the white race, either in social or political relations; and so far inferior that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect; and that the negro might justly and lawfully be reduced to slavery for his benefit.' Afterward Scott and his family passed by inheritance to the family of Calvin C. Chaffee, a member of Congress from Massachusetts, and on May 26, 1857, they were emancipated in St. Louis by Taylor Blow, to whom Mr. Chaffee had conveyed them for that purpose."

(Hyde and Conrad, 1899, pp. 600-1)

The Supreme Court Decision strengthened the pro-slavery position, dimmed the hopes of millions of slaves, splintered the key plank of the Republican party platform and exacerbated tensions between north and south.

The Civil War began before Gordonville had much of a chance to develop and attract new residents, business, or churches. The period of time between the firing of the first shot upon Fort Sumter to the surrender of Lee at Appomattox is a blood-stained chapter in our nation's history. The issues which divided the nation by region cut right across Metropolitan City and Gentle Valley township, and sometimes pitted neighbor against neighbor. Thomas (1911) describes the patterns into which the divergent beliefs grouped:

> In Midwest State the slavery question came to the front in the first quarter of the 19th century and occasioned acrimonious debates in congress for a year preceding the state's admission into the Union....In 1861, an echo of the former strife over the question of slavery reverberated from the north and the east to the south and the central west, involving in its hideous din, the state of Midwest and, to a distressing extent, the city of Metropolitan and the old County of Liguest. The citizens rapidly resolved themselves, under the stress of a prospective imminent conflict between the Federal Government and the Confederacy forming in the South, into three factions, the unconditional Union men, the conservative or conditional adherent of the government at Washington, and the class that sympathized with the South, which called itself rebel or secessionists. (p. 96)

As we recall, slavery was more widespread in the township of Gentle Valley than in the region as a whole. This point, in combination with the ethnic make-up of the area had the region around Milford and Gordonville with proportionally fewer unconditional Union supporters and enlistees. As Thomas indicates, the Germans, who were not yet numerous in Gentle Valley township, were a decisive group in the Union cause:

> Liguest County (and Metropolitan City) attracted a host of German settlers, who established themselves in various parts of the county, possibly in greater numbers in the eastern and northern parts....Gentle Valley appears to have been favored by the French pioneers, if we may judge from the Gallic nomenclature of its people and places....Settlements of people of American parentage were scattered or intermixed with other nativities all over the county.
>
> At the beginning of the Civil War many of our sturdy German fellow citizens joined the home guards, exchanging the belief that their action was necessary to the defense of their homes for the more emphatic action involved in re-enlistment for the war. They were mustered into the regular service...and tramp-tramped all over the South with Sherman, even in the memorable march to the sea. Very loyal were they, the old men and their sons, and with great pride do they now don the old uniforms and attend the meetings and march in the ranks of the Grand Army of the Republic and the loyal Legion at the times for their camp fires and reunions.

> The German immigrants and their children, living in Metropolitan City and County in 1861-65, were almost without exception unconditional Union men. Ten thousand loyalists, eighty percent of German nationality, formed five volunteer and five reserve regiments to take a part in the three-months' service with which the war began in Midwest State. Many of them reenlisted for three years, and not a few saw service throughout the war. (1911, p. 97)

Of those wearing the blue, and there were certainly some from Gentle Valley township, Thomas says:

> The contentions of those who fought to save the Union have been justified in their correctness by results. Liguest county contributed many men who served in the Union army, many of them with most praiseworthy distinction, many of whom gave their lives to the patriotic sentiment, which carried them into the carnage of battle or into the miseries of the prison, many of whom came back from the war, resumed their aforetime peaceful avocations, farming, plowing, toiling in the city and the country, and, dying, left behind them children who now are living happy and useful and prosperous lives in this same "new" County of Liguest. (1911, p. 96)

At the other extreme from the unconditional Union position was the rebel or secessionist side. Dr. John Grant, who we will recall, was a purchaser of one of the Chester slaves, and whose descendents deeded property to the Milford School District, was one such rebel who served in the Confederate army. Of secessionists like Dr. Grant, Thomas notes:

> The men who went to the front in defense of the Union...are matters of official records....Not so with the hundreds of men who went from Metropolitan City and made their way to the Confederate army....The number will never be known with definiteness. A number of infantry and artillery organizations were made up almost entirely of Metropolitan City and Liguest County men, and many more were attached to regiments composed of soldiers from all parts of the South....It is estimated that the Southern army contained at least 5,000 men who went to it from this locality....The Metropolitan City contingent appears to have made up in quality what it lacked in quantity, but quantity is usually a very influential factor in a scrap, as you may have learned by personal experience, and bullets are no respectors of persons--they are great levelers--and doctors and truck-gardeners; lawyers and divinity students and section men and teamsters and men of all classes; Irish and "Dutch" and French and "Nigger" and American; aristocratic humanity and plebeian flesh and blood; look alike to men who are facing each other behind antagonistic guns. Martial law had been declared very early in 1861 and those men who left the county had to go with the utmost secrecy as to their methods of eluding the eyes and guns of the home guards, who paced the banks of the Sauk river....Under the reign of martial law, a passport containing a pledge of loyalty to the Union was necessary to men who wished to leave Metropolitan City. Eighty-five thousand of these passes were issued in three months in 1861. (pp. 100-1)
>
> There were other men who went South and came back an indefinite number of times. They carried information and quinine and prohibited freight in small quantities and at great peril....
>
> And still others went South with the full knowledge and assistance of the government, making the journey on one of the palatial steamboats of the period. We have been told of a group of about thirty of these people--men and women--who made the trip to a point above Memphis, ultimately reaching a point called Pontotoc, Mississippi, where they found themselves among their Southern friends. They were "aiders and abettors" and had been banished. Some of them carried mail and "contraband" articles.... (p. 102)

> The rebel or secessionist element, so far as the younger men were concerned, were, without doubt, honest in their convictions that they were in the right in the stand taken by them. They nearly all inherited these convictions, just as they inherited and reflected their mothers' religious faith or their fathers' political affiliations. In their opinions concerning the war, many of them gave but little time to arguments of a wordy nature, giving to later life a discussion of the reasons, just as many of us do to the influences upon which are based our various courses toward all manner of earthly or heavenly salvation. Another older class of men, distinguished in the councils of the state and of the nation, eminent as law-makers, revered in the pulpit, sanctioned the secession movement and defended their position with Bible texts and with countless other arguments, amongst others their right to secede from a compact being based on the principle that the right of withdrawal was implied by the right to enter it. The first class was represented, in large numbers, in the Confederate line of battle. Many of them never got back to their homes. (p. 96)

"Copperhead" was the name given to southern sympathizers whose allegiance to the Union was conditional. In Liguest County such persons, often slave holders, were taxed very heavily to support Union military operations. In addition, the Home Guards were known to make raids upon such sympathizers, and carry off their slaves and other property. Randall Chester was one such "copperhead" who apparently suffered this kind of indignity, for Jessop (1927) states:

> Although he was a "Union" man, he was persecuted for his Southern sympathies by authorities whose ardor for the Union cause led to extremes. He was imprisoned and fined ten thousand dollars, and his wife was fined five thousand dollars. (1927, p. 65)

Apparently Randall Chester feared that his real estate was at risk, and transferred title to his property to a neighbor named Frank Teasdale until after the war. The Teasdale Road, along which Milford High School stands today, was named after Chester's trusted neighbor.

3.2 The Period of Reconstruction

When the war ended, Randall Chester and many other former slave owners, no doubt had some adjustments to make during the period of radical reconstruction. According to Thomas, the healing process was generally quick and complete among blues and grays alike. Upon returning home, they:

> (T)ook hold of the plow, got their household altar into a semblance of its old shape, resumed all their old traits of good citizenship, and mingled in every form of amity and good-fellowship with their late antagonists, accepting the results of the war with a good faith in the belief that, while the methods necessarily employed were costly in blood and treasure the benefits obtained justified the lavish expenditure. (1911, p. 97)

Nearly a half century after the war, the Metropolitan News editorialized about the success of the reunification of the nation:

> The promptness and the completeness with which the passions of 1861 disappeared after 1865 brought a reunited country has no parallel in any other great conflict which the world has seen. Civil wars are the fiercest of all conflicts, and their traces last longest, but many years past the scars which our big struggle left have been obliterated. The followers of the lost cause, with few exceptions, accepted the new, which was the restoration of the old order, divested of its anachronisms and impossibilities. South Carolina is as loyal as Massachusetts, and has been for decades past. And there is ample reason for this. The first president chosen after the Civil war held out the olive branch toward the men against whom he had fought. He appointed Longstreet and several other Confederates to important posts under the government. His successor, Hayes, removed the Federal troops from the South. In his state papers Arthur refused to mention the South as a section, and that term, except in a geographical sense, has appeared in no outgiving from the White House since. In McKinley's days the ban was removed from army officers who resigned in 1861 to enter the service of the Confederacy, and Wheeler, Fitzhugh Lee and others of them donned the blue in their later days. Ever since 1870 every one of the eleven Confederate states has had its full representation in Congress, and has been upon precise equality before the law

> with the rest of the commonwealths. The present chief justice of the supreme court was a Confederate soldier. The gatherings in Baltimore and other places in the next few weeks of the survivors of the wearers of the blue and gray will testify anew to the vitality of the "indestructible Union of indestructible states." (Cited in Thomas, 1911, p. 105)

Certainly the social and economic order was transformed by the war, but the relations between Blacks and Whites were not totally realigned. Emancipated Blacks were afforded neither a complete array of civil rights, nor social and economic parity with Whites. Yet the passage of the 14th and 15th amendments were the first steps in a long journey to bring about these national aims. Federal relief agencies such as the Union League and the Freedmen's Bureau were established to aid former slaves in the transition to political participation and economic independence. These federal programs were distinctly different from the privately funded relief societies such as Sean Maloney supported. We shall come back to this point later. Many Blacks in the region of Milford, we presume, were able to sever their ties with former masters, while many others settled for sharecropping or other modifications from the status of slave to employee. Some of the Blacks who struck out on their own apparently found the security of the master's farm preferable to the poverty and discrimination that characterized the life of "freedom." The Black woman who appeared in an earlier photograph (Figure 4, Chapter 3) may well have been such a case.

In the years following the Civil War, the population of Metropolitan City surged to nearly a third of a million. Most of the near doubling of the numbers between 1860 and 1870 occurred in the last half of the decade. While the majority of citizens were United States born

Whites, over a third of the City's residents were immigrants. Of the foreign-forn community, the largest group was now composed of persons of German extraction, who numbered nearly 60,000 in 1870. These population characteristics posed a serious challenge to the young City public school system. The response by Superintendent Cooley is most notable, for it represents a rare example of school integration with a non-Black ethnic group. Cooley's successor describes the City's policy:

> Under Mr. Cooley's policy the board began as early as 1864 to take special measures to draw into the public schools the German speaking population. The German language taught by native Germans was introduced into a few of the large schools situated in parts of the city where the German population was large. One lesson a day was given in the German language. It was proclaimed policy to give the children of Germans a knowledge of English and the advantages of school association with Anglo-Americans, it being desirable that these two classes of the population should not grow up as two hostile castes, but, on the contrary, that they should grow up as fellow pupils and make a homogeneous population for Metropolitan City. It was assumed that German pupils should not lose their command of their native tongue while they learned English. The number of Germans taking advantage of this new arrangement in the schools increased rapidly and by the year 1869-70 there were 6,213 (out of the fraternalizing of the two classes), German and by 1878-9 the number had increased to 20,428 out of a total of 48,836, and 5,005 of these pupils were Anglo-Americans. The study of German by Anglo-Americans was encouraged with the view above stated, namely the fraternizing of the two classes, German and Anglo-Americans. Perhaps no step has been taken in the schools of the nation of so great importance as this one of bringing together the German-Americans with the Anglo-Americans in the same school.
>
> For the Metropolitan City plan was followed throughout the Northwestern States...The result has been a complete removal of barriers between German-American and Anglo-American business men of these States. Affiliation by marriage, too, has removed still further the national differences. That at a later date the study of German was abolished in the schools of Metropolitan City by a vote of the people shows that a large number of German-Americans who had completely affiliated themselves with the Anglo-Americans had come to feel that there was no longer any need for the special study of German in the schools. A class of citizens migrating from a foreign country to America will be held to a higher standard of character if it does not break off family ties with the stock

> left in the old country. If the German children keep up their German side by side with their English they will be likely to retain relations for at least two generations with the European stock. This will not prevent their becoming Americanized in the good sense of the word, but it will add a certain strength of character to the German-American contingent of the population. This argument proved valid in Metropolitan City and in the other cities in the Northwest following the Metropolitan City plan. In Cincinnati a different plan had been established. In a certain part of the city the schools were taught by German teachers using the German language for half the day, and by English teachers using the English language a second half of the day. This, as one would expect, prevented Anglo-Americans from attending the same school with the German pupils and therefore led to the settlement of Cincinnati in two parts, one part native American and the other part German. The consequence of this isolation of the two classes of citizens is felt to this day in Cincinnati, and to a still greater degree in Pennsylvania. Mr. Cooley had recommended as early as 1859 the adoption of German in the schools, and four years before, his predecessor, Mr. Sims, had strongly urged upon the board the same measure. Metropolitan City was a very composite city. According to the census of...1870, 124,378 were foreign born, being mostly the older population, and 252,792 (being most children) had one or both parents of foreign birth, leaving only 98,397 of native parentage. Of the foreign born, 65,936 were Germans, 34,803 Irish, 9,843 British, 3,310 French, 3,265 Swiss, 2,733 Bohemians.
> (Greer, 1899, p. 2015-16)

This policy stands in bold contrast to the manner in which Blacks and Whites were integrated in the City schools over a century later. To a significant extent, the racial isolation in the City schools which was eventually deemed unlawful also began during the administration of Superintendent Cooley at the beginning of reconstruction:

> Another one of Mr. Cooley's plans touched the education of the colored people and the establishment of colored schools for their accommodation. There were three schools for colored people situated in the northern, middle and southern parts of the city, established in 1866. This number of schools has been increased sufficiently to supply the wants of the colored people. The Franklin School...was set apart for a colored high school, under the name of the Marshall High School, in the year 1875. (Greer, 1899, p. 1016)

The demographic stresses which shaped the schooling Whites received was, proportionally, even greater in the case of Blacks as many former slaves from the rural south migrated to urban centers like Metropolitan City. In 1860, there were about 3,500 Blacks in the City. A decade later their numbers had increased nearly six-fold to over 22,000. Many Blacks remained in agriculture as sharecroppers, which seems to be the case in Gentle Valley township. Census data indicates that the township's White population increased from 4,200 to 7,200 between 1860 and 1870, while the Black community changed only from 865 to 950 during the same period. At a point only a few miles west of Milford, and across the recently constructed Township Line Road, the area's first "colored" school appeared three years after the City's first school for Blacks. Franzwa (1977) who has studied the history of the schools in the West Township, writes: "During that year (1869) the enumeration of the school district revealed there were 45 boys, 36 girls, and six 'colored'. One of the sheets of the record book is an itemization of expenditures for the 'colored school' (p. 69). It is possible that some of the children who attended this school were descendents of the Chester slaves, for this school was apparently the only one for Blacks in the region of Milford.

The impact of urban growth, industrialization and reconstruction altered little the agricultural economy and way of life around Gordonville and Milford. Subdivision of land into smaller parcels continued slowly, but mechanization and inventions such as McCormick's reaper allowed more productive use of smaller tracts of land. But it was the larger farms such as the Chester's which could benefit most by shipping from the Gordonville Depot. As the City's population increased, with it the demand for farm products increased. And as the horse continued to be the primary source of local transportation, hay and oats joined wheat and corn as the region's staple produce. Dairy farming was another enterprize supported by the growing Metropolitan City. The rich pasture land, which included the present day Kensington School attendance area, was the location of one of the region's first dairy operations. Orville Jamieson, whose mother's family owned the Kensington property, was the area's first dairyman. Of Mr. Jamieson, Thomas (1911) writes:

> Prominent because of his success as a farmer and also because of his long resident in Liguest County, Orville Jamieson is numbered among the influential citizens of Gentle Valley township. For seventy-seven years (since 1834) he has lived on the farm where he now makes his home, and there are few men in this part of the county who are so well acquainted with the earlier history of this section or retain a more distinct recollection of the early settlers, their manners, their modes of thought and the trials through which they passed in subduing the wild land to the uses of man. Mr. Jamieson was born in this county, April 9, 1834, a son of Willis and Elizabeth (Harmon) Jamieson, natives of Kentucky and Virginia respectively, the families on both sides belonging to sturdy pioneer stock.
>
> Reared on the home farm, Mr. Jamieson, of this review, did not possess the advantages of a father's influence and example, as the head of the family died three months before the son was born. The son was educated in the public schools and ever since leaving school has been identified with the home farm, which passed into his possession after the death of his grandfather. He made many improvements on the place, which comprises two hundred and forty acres, thus adding greatly to its value, and is now able to pass the sunset of life in quiet ease and retirement. The work of the farm for sometime has devolved upon younger shoulders and a successful dairy business has been carried on by Mr. Jamieson's son during the past eight or nine years.
>
> Mr. Jamieson politically is a supporter of the democratic party, but has never held public office, although actively interested in all movements pertaining to the section with which he has been so long connected. He is a genial gentleman of unusual alertness of mind. He has witnessed the wonderful development of Liguest County, and at all times has manifested a spirit of helpfulness and progressiveness that indicates the

> broad-minded man. In business affairs he has never sought to take undue advantage of another and he, therefore, well deserves a place in this work. (pp. 219-20)

The construction of the transcontinental railroad put scores of thousands of immigrants to work in the midwest and west coast regions. Chinese "coolies" picked and shoveled eastward across mountains and deserts leaving behind a symetrical trail of steel and wood. From the midwest, gangs of Irish "gandy dancers" laid ties and rails to ultimately link with the eastward construction. In 1869, the two sections were joined in Utah with a golden spike. The whistle of the locomotive signaled many changes. As waves of settlers and sightseers poured westward, the huge buffalo herds were subject to wholesale slaughter and diminished rapidly. The Plains Indians, whose lives depended upon these animals, would never recover from this latest onslaught of American civilization. The buffalo were replaced by cattle which over-grazed freely on the open ranges. From here they were driven in large herds to railway shipping points and delivered to urban centers to the east. It was during this era that Metropolitan City became an important meat packing center whose products were distributed all over the midwest. The railroads created numerous jobs directly and indirectly. This new form of transportation made accessible the abundant natural resources that contributed to a seven fold increase in industrial production that occurred between 1865 and the turn of the century. A mobile labor force followed the railroads, attracted by jobs and cheap land sold by the companies. The region of Gordonville and Milford was at first spared the impact of the waves of these newest settlers. This would change in the 1880's.

Between 1870 and 1880, the population of Gentle Valley township increased by only 500 persons, and life around Milford and Gordonville continued in its rural way. Gordonville Presbyterian Church, the town's first house of worship, began services in 1870. In that same year a second room was added to Gordonville's log cabin school. The practice of tenant farming and sharecropping became more widespread in the region and provided many immigrants and settlers their first opportunity to partake of America's abundance. One such newcomer named George Covington leased land that, after the turn of the century, would become part of the City of Milford. A newspaper article about early Milford contained this brief profile of George Covington:

> The 500-acre Purcell Farm (daughter of Randall Chester) included most of what is today the City of Milford. English immigrant George Covington was one of the farm's chief tenants from the mid 1860's until his death in 1891.
>
> Covington came to the United States in his early teens, but found that life moved too fast for his taste and went home only six months after his arrival.
>
> There, he found things moving too slowly and again turned to America, staying seven years the second time around.
>
> Covington then had in mind returning to England for just three weeks to marry his childhood sweetheart. But it didn't work out that way. The young couple was shipwrecked twice on the Atlantic crossing.
>
> Later, the couple bought 35 acres of hilly land at one edge of the larger farm for their own use. Covington built a six-room frame house.
>
> His grandson, Paul E. Teasdale, subdivided the Covington farm in 1946 and named the neighborhood of winding streets Covington Hills.
>
> The homestead was razed for the subdivision's main street and today, Teasdale's daughter, Mrs. Richard H. Groetsch, lives in effect in her great-grandfather's backyard at 947 Covington Drive.

> Street names, such as Leeds and Cambridge Hills, were derived from the Covington family's English heritage.
> (Metro Times, 6-16-76)

In 1868, Irving Cooley was succeeded as Superintendent of the Metropolitan City public schools by his assistant, Terrence Greer. During the twelve years of Greer's administration, major curricular innovations were effected. In 1871, science education was introduced into the City Schools. While this was an important change in and of itself, it is doubly innovative in its scope, sequence and articulation as a "spiral" curriculum. We are fortunate to have Greer's own statement about science education:

> In 1871 a system of instruction in natural science was adopted, giving one lesson per week of sixty minutes to each class of pupils in the eight grades of the elementary schools. The first year's course of study took up an outline of botany. In the second year of the primary school there was a similar study of the outlines of zoology and physiology, and in the third year the elements of physical science or natural philosophy so far as to explain the child's playthings. The fourth year took up again the study of botany in a more systematic manner and with special reference to the different species of plants and their uses for food, clothing, medicine and the arts; the fifth year the classification of different animals and special subjects in physiology; the sixth year natural philosophy again and astronomy. Another course in natural science still more systematic began in the seventh year, taking up geology and meteorology, and in the eighth year an outline of natural philosophy with special reference to the understanding of the construction of machinery. It will be observed that this formed a spiral course taking the children of the elementary school over the three great branches of natural science three times. In 1877 a similar course of lessons in history was adopted, taking up also one hour a week and arranged in a spiral form. (1899, p. 2016)

The same year that science education began in the city schools, the first non-denominational private school[10] in Gentle Valley Township opened just to the north of Milford on the property once owned by Orville Killian. Of this "finishing school" called the "Metropolitan Seminary for Young Ladies", Scharf (1883) writes:

> Property possessing great natural beauty, valued at ten thousand dollars, was subsequently improved at an expenditure of eleven thousand dollars, and other improvements render its present value twenty-five thousand dollars. The site is a commanding eminence south of the city of Metropolitan, three-fourths of a mile from the city limits, on the West Railway, overlooking the city and the Sauk River, and is only a few hundred yards from Killian Station. The location, though so near the city, is remarkably quiet, there being no business houses near, and is surrounded by beautiful suburban homes.
>
> The spacious, well-constructed building is surrounded by a shady lawn of eight acres, tastefully laid out with walks, bordered with flowers and ornamental shrubbery, all conspiring to render the place an attractive home. The large, well-ventilated rooms have all been arranged with a view to health and comfort.
>
> The school is the property of B. T. Caldwell, LL.D., and is select in its character, receiving only a limited number of those desiring a high grade of scholarship. Though no sectarian influence is brought to bear upon the pupils, their religious welfare and moral training are most studiously guarded, and every endeavor is made to render the school a Christian home. The limited number allows each pupil to be indivudualized and to receive that special attention requisite to her culture, affording a great advantage over schools in which large numbers are crowded together. The seminary, up to this period, has sent out only thirteen graduates. The grade of scholarship is designed to be thorough, affording the very best literary advantages. Vocal and instrumental music,

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[10] In 1871, the only other non-public school in the Township was the Jesuit Theological Seminary founded in 1823 and supported in large measure by the Maloney family. On this site between 1824 and 1831, the Jesuits operated an "Indian School." Between 1819 and 1846, a Catholic Boarding School also existed in the City of Gentle Valley. One public school was operating in the City of Gentle Valley in 1871. Curiously by modern standards, this school was staffed by Catholic Nuns between 1857 and 1887, at which time the first parish school began operation.

> painting in oil and water colors, drawing, sketching, and whatever else may be needful in the thorough culture of a young woman, are most carefully attended to in this seminary.
>
> There will soon be added to the accommodations, already inviting, spacious and airy school-rooms, with all the desired appliances. An important feature in this school is that the year opens in September and closes the middle of May, before the enervating heat of summer oppresses, and all the arrangements, as well as the eligibility of the location, contribute to the health and the general welfare of the pupils. The principal has a select library of fifteen hundred volumes, to which the young ladies have access, besides which they have the advantage of the libraries of the city, and the art galleries, museums, lectures, concerts, and other appliances for their culture. (p. 1878)

If any young ladies from Milford attended this finishing school at Killian Station, they were likely from families like the Chesters, Grants, and Roberts, whose names and social position would allow such training.

The Panic of 1873 rather abruptly dampened national optimism about a return to ante-bellum levels of prosperity. For the next five years, the economy limped along through to the end of reconstruction. The depression caused widescale business failures and cast three million workers into the ranks of the unemployed. Membership in the fledgling labor union movement was cut by 5/6. During the beginning years of reconstruction, the first Blacks were elected to state and federal offices throughout the south. The Ku Klux Klan also sprang up in this era. In 1874, Blanche K. Bruce became the last Black United States Senator until 1966 with the election of Edward Brook.

The phenomenal growth of Metropolitan City was slowed considerably during the depression. Between 1870 and 1880 the total population increased by only 13%. Depression and slowed growth notwithstanding, the City public school system remained anything but stagnant. In 1870, the schools enrolled over 24,000 students, and through the next ten years showed a steady increase in enrollments that reached over 51,000 in 1880. Superintendent Greer's innovative policies continued to take hold despite economic hard times and spectacular enrollment increases. One of the innovations was the kindergarten which Greer (1899) described:

> In 1873-74 the first experiment was made in the adoption of the kindergarten into the public school system. Miss Theresa Cashell offered to take charge of the instruction of a teacher in the supervision and management of a kindergarten, provided the school board would furnish rooms and a salaried teacher. In the next year, 1874-75, there were three morning kindergartens and one afternoon kindergarten established, and from that time on the kindergartens rapidly increased until the year 1879 there were fifty-three in all, twenty-seven of them being held in the forenoon, and twenty-six in the afternoon, with a total enrollment of 6,202. This was the first successful experiment ever made of adopting the kindergarten into a public school system. Miss Cashell continued to give her services to the cause of the kindergarten and the success of the kindergarten system is due to her efforts. A large number of young women came to her training classes and learned the new method of teaching young children. From two to three hundred attended the weekly lessons held by Miss Cashell, and it was stated by the superintendent that the benefit to these persons as a preparatory education for the family was worth the total sum expended by the school board in the support of the kindergarten. Many of the new kindergartens were established in those parts of the city in which the poorer people resided. (pp. 2016-17)

Superintendent Greer is a quite clear case of what Callahan (1964) has called the "scholarly educational leader" era of the superintendency, and which included such other contemporaries of Greer as Horace Mann and Henry Barnard. The following passage, penned by

Greer, contains ample evidence of such intellectual leadership, and harkens forth images of Kensington School's "continuous progress" philosophy some 90 years in the future:

> The Metropolitan City schools have differed somewhat from the schools of other cities in the fact that great pains has been taken to prevent the evil effects ascribed to what is called the "lock step." This evil has led to the frequent complaint that "under the graded school system the work of the school room becomes monotonous and like a treadmill." It serves as a kind of Procrustean bed to hold back the talented pupil and destroy his industrious habits, while it disheartens the dull pupil who finds himself not able to keep up with the average of the class. The effect of placing pupils of different degrees of advancement in the same class will be to unduly urge the backward ones while the pupils in advance of the average in the class will have too little work assigned them. When bright scholars are kept back for dull ones they acquire loose, careless habits of study. When the pupils of slower temperment are strained to keep pace with quick and bright ones they become discouraged and demoralized. Even when pupils are well classified at the beginning of the year, differences begin to develop from the first day and after two or three months of good instruction a large interval has developed between the advancement of the slow ones and that of the bright ones. Besides difference in temperament there is difference in regularity of attendance on account of sickness and family necessities; these things affect the rate of progress. Moreover, the degree of maturity and amount of previous study develop differences. Classification in a school is never absolute. No pupils are of exactly the same degree of progress. There are probably no two pupils alike in ability to do the daily work of the class. From this it is evident that there should be frequent reclassification. There should be promotions of a few of the best pupils from below into the class above, and a few promotions from the best of that class to the next class beyond. After such promotion has been made through all or a portion of the classes of a school from the lowest, each class will find itself composed of fair, average and poor scholars, together with a few of the best from the next lower class in place of the few that each has lost by promotion. New hope will come to those pupils who were before the poorest in the class, and there will be new stimulus given to the best pupils, who have been promoted to a higher class, for they will have to work earnestly to attain and hold a good rank in the new class. But the quick and bright ones thus promoted will gradually work their way toward the top of the class again. The slow ones in the class may be passed by successive platoons of bright ones introduced into the class from below, but they will pick up new courage on

> every occasion when they find themselves brought to the top of the class by the process of transferring the bright ones who had begun to lead them at too fast a pace.
>
> Metropolitan City early took the lead in advocating this reform of the graded school system, and its beneficial effects extended from the lowest primary grade to the highest class in high school. In the average elementary school the intervals between classes of the first and second year's work averaged eight to ten weeks, making possible the transfer of the bright pupils to the next class above without forcing them to take too long steps. On the other hand the old fashioned plan of having one examination for admission to the high school per annum was abolished and classes were admitted two, three, and even four times a year according to the needs of the schools. As the number in the first year of the high school work nearly equaled the aggregate of pupils in the second, third and fourth years, the experiment was tried of forming branch high schools in different parts of the city in which could be brought together the eighth year pupils of the elementary school and the first year of the high school, thus rendering it unnecessary to send children from the age of thirteen to fifteen years a long distance to a central school.
> (1899, pp. 2017-18)

We can only note in passing the programatic, philosophical, and leadership similarities between Terrence Greer in the 1870's and Milford's superintendent Steven Spanman in the 1960's. We refer the reader to Volume II where we examine the fit of our data with Callahan's (1964) thesis about the "Changing Conception of the Superintendency."

The significance of the year 1876 extends well beyond the celebrations of the nation's centennial throughout the area. To this point we have been a bit obscure about the formal, governmental relationship between Metropolitan City and Liguest County. What Cassella (1959) calls "The Great Divorce of 1876" provides us occasion to explore the circumstances that resulted in two jurisdictional entities where before there was but one.

For more than a half century, the government of Metropolitan City had been nested within the broader jurisdiction of the County Court. For over three decades the interests of the urban population were increasingly at odds with those of the rural county residents. At issue back around the time of the Chester slave sale and the construction of the Carlton Methodist Church was the City's inadequate representation in county government, and at a time when the population was bulging and the City's fiscal resources were strained:

> Between 1845 and 1858 the composition of the governing body of Liguest County was altered three times. During this period the population of the City had increased faster than the County as a whole, which accentuated the problem of City representation at the County level. The growth in urban population caused many complex and costly problems for the city government. Extensive public improvements were required and as a result the municipal debt increased materially.
> (1959, p. 88)

Insult was added to injury when the county exercised its political advantage by levying a tax which disproportionately burdened the urban population. The "Personal Recollections" of the City's mayor at this time contain charges of corruption and demonstrate the indignation and resulting political action that reduced considerably the county's power:

> ...in the year 1858 the County Court of Liguest County was guilty of a great wrong in imposing an exorbitant tax on the people of the County, and of an enormous, unjustifiable and scandalous waste of public money. The unwarranted abuse of that tribunal was so flagrant as to excite general indignation. To such a pitch was the mind of the public aroused that a public meeting was called and a committee appointed to visit the State Capitol in the year 1859 to take such legislative action as to relieve the citizens from these grievances....The result was that, in pursuance of the recommendations of the committee, the Legislature passed a law abolishing the County Court and reducing the taxation and expenses of the County.
> (Campbell, 1880, pp. 437-8)

The tensions between City and County, still interdependent jurisdictional bodies, were relieved only temporarily by the reforms of 1859. A decade later, the calls for separation echoed the same general issues of political power and economics. One City spokesman was quoted in the Metropolitan Gazette in 1869 as saying:

> What is needed is separation...A government would then be got rid of which costs an immense amount of money and contributes nothing to the welfare and prosperity of the city. Of every five dollars raised by the county, four dollars is contributed by citizens of Metropolitan City, and nothing ever comes back.
> (Cited in Cassella, p. 91)

The growing sentiment in favor of separation and the establishment of "home rule" for Metropolitan City coalesced in 1872 around an organization calling itself the "Citizens' Tax Committee". This group was successful in bringing the issue before the Midwest State Constitutional Convention in 1875, and having provisions enacted that would enable the electorate to decide the issue of separation. In 1876, the measure was passed by the voters of the City and County by a narrow margin, and:

> The Metropolitan City, as described...(with new boundaries) and the residue of Liguest County...are hereby declared to be distinct and separate municipalities...and the residue of what now constitutes the Liguest County shall hereafter be called Suburban County.
> (Cited in Cassella, p. 10)

A "new" County Court was established and to the present day, Metropolitan City and "Suburban" (nee Liguest) County have remained separate, if not somewhat estranged.[11]

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[11] At the time of the vote, the City stood to gain from the separation. However, in the post World War II era, suburbanization and urban decay reversed the benefits of the separation, and the growing Suburban County was spared the burden of supporting the troubled City.

While legislation divided the City and County, the expanding railroads linked the two economically. In the year of the "Great Divorce", another set of tracks united the Gordon Depot with Metropolitan City. This "spur line" provided convenient commuter service between the two populations. James Hastings was sure to have availed himself to this modern transportation as he attended City University, where his grandfather, as we recall, was a prominent scholar in the 1820's. James Hastings was graduated from City University in 1878 with a Bachelor of Arts degree.

The period of "radical reconstruction" ended in 1877 shortly after the inauguration of Rutherford B. Hayes. This same year, a violent railroad strike swept across the eastern half of the country, and touched the lives of many citizens of Metropolitan City. What started as a rail strike soon gathered support from many occupational groups in the City. While no bloodshed occurred in Metropolitan City as it had elsewhere, the strike wrought mob activity, destruction of property, and general chaos for several days. The beginnings of the City's first widescale labor turmoil is recounted by Scharf (1883) in a manner that reveals the author's biases:

> Up to this time the demonstrations in Metropolitan City had been confined to public mass-meetings and parades, in which a few labor agitators, styling themselves the "International Workingman's Organization", were the ruling and directing spirits. They had worked on the sympathies of some workingmen and incendiary and inflammatory speeches, added to the startling events attending the riots in Pittsburgh, Baltimore, and other points in the East, had resulted in the enlistment of many mechanics and laborers. But there were very few, if any, railway men identified with the agitation in Metropolitan City proper, although these had at times given their moral support; the mass of the disaffected in Metropolitan City were tramps and irresponsible persons, idlers and curiosity-seekers. On

Wednesday, July 25th, however, the demonstrations culminated in open violence. The beginning of the outbreak occurred at a meeting called for eight A.M., to be followed by a labor procession. The meeting was held under the auspices of the International Workingman's Organization, which had prepared a list of industrial institutions at which the procession was expected to call and compel the employees to stop work. The procession, which subsequently degenerated into a mob, started from the Larder Market, after hearing speeches from several of the executive committee. Prominent in the ranks were a number of colored roustabouts from the Levee, who had been invited by the executive committee to join in the demonstration. This they had done after compelling the captains of such steamboats as were lying along the Levee to advance the wages of their colored workmen.

After marching up and down Larder Market Place, the procession passed down Main Street....(where) a stop was made at the Flour Mill and the proprietor was allowed fifteen minutes to close up, which he did. The demand was made by a committee of spokesmen previously appointed from the ranks. While at this point the rank of the procession was broken and was not reformed. The Metropolitan City Bagging Factory...was the next place visited. The crowd dashed over the Elm Street bridge in great confusion, shouting and yelling and alarming the employees of the bagging factory, who hastened to close the doors and windows before the mob arrived. The spokesmen were met at the entrance by the superintendent, who at once acceded to a demand for instant stoppage of the works. Before he had had an opportunity to do this the mob clambered over the fences, and yelling and hooting, created a scene of confusion as the employees, one hundred of whom were females, were being dismissed.

While at this place the negro roustabouts forced themselves to the front, and during the remainder of the day they were most conspicuous in the scenes of disorder and riot which ensued. All of the places on the programme having received previous notice from the executive committee to close, the mob regarded it as an insult when they were found open, and was apparently greatly incensed thereat. At the Midtown Foundry, a square farther west, similar scenes were enacted, and the rioters took possession of the works and compelled the engineer to shut off steam. At the Engle Bagging Company's works the disorder was even greater. Windows were broken, the door of the engine room was burst in, and the engineer, under threats against his life, was compelled by the negroes to shut off steam. There were a great many females employed here, and they were peremptorily ordered to quit work, and in some instances received rude threatment at the hands of the negroes. A malt-house, south of the Bagging Company's works, was visited by a crowd of negroes, who finding only a few carpenters at work, compelled them to leave. A heavy shower

> of rain now drenched the mob, but did not check its progress in the least...and a number of rioters directed their attention to a small grocery kept by a man named Lampheat, which the negro element were only prevented from sacking by the threats of a committeeman to place them under arrest.... The Metropolitan City Trunk-Factory was next closed, and the main body of the mob then desisted and started on the return. The negroes, however, attended by a few disorderly white characters, continued east...as an independent mob. They closed the Savoy Mills and the Northern White-Lead and Color Works, with threats of burning if operations were resumed. Thence the mob, ripe for any disorder, swept on to the Maple Street Depot, where the negroes attempted to stop a passenger train which was on the eve of departure, and grossly insulted the passengers, but were finally induced to leave by two or three speeches from their white colleagues. The Southern Mills next received a visit, and the man who was in the engine room, being insulted by a negro, knocked him down, whereupon another negro assaulted him with a hatchet, and the latter only escaped by flight. After stopping a few bricklayers, at work on a new building, the mob raided a small cooper-shop on Oak Street, where they sawed a number of hoop-poles into clubs, and, with threats of murder and arson, influenced the employees to leave. At Hickory Street the little shop of a poor widow was raided by negroes, who were about to sack it when compelled to leave by others in the mob. City Zinc Works were next closed, and the rioters, many of them fired with drink, continued northward, their passage being marked by similar outrages. At Binet's Bakery...and the Grand Bakery... they carried off whatever they desired and destroyed a quantity of stock.
>
> At Ash Street a store was raided, and dry-goods, soap, etc., were thrown into the street, "so that poor people might pick them up." (pp. 1843-44)

As the mayor organized a volunteer militia composed of three or four thousand of "a better class of citizen," the executive committee of the Metropolitan City Workingmen's Organization drafted the following appeal to the Governor of Midwest State. Herein are highlighted the issues and concerns from the workers' perspective in these depression years:

> TO THE GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF MIDWEST AND ALL CITIZENS:
>
> We request your speedy co-operation in convening the Legislature and calling for the immediate passage of the eight-hour law, its stringent enforcement, and penalty for all violations of the same.

> The non-employment of all children under fourteen years of age in factories, shops, or other uses calculated to injure them.
>
> Your attention is respectfully called to the fact that a prompt compliance with this our reasonable demand, and that living wages be paid to the railroad men, will at once bring peace and prosperity such as we have not seen for the last fifteen years. Nothing short of a compliance to the above just demand, made purely in the interest of our national welfare, will arrest this tidal-wave of revolution. Threats or organized armies will not turn the toilers of this nation from their earnest purpose, but rather serve to inflame the passions of the multitude and tend to acts of vandalism.
>
> Yours, in the nation's welfare,
> EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,
> Metropolitan City Workingmen's
> Organization
> (Cited in Scharf, p. 1046)

Likewise, the union petitioned the mayor:

> TO THE MAYOR OF METROPOLITAN CITY:
>
> Sir,--We, the authorized representatives of the industrial population of Metropolitan City, have called upon you to request your co-operation in devising means to procure food for those actually in a destitute condition.
>
> In order to save a useless waste of your time, it is necessary that we at once say that all offers of work during this national strike cannot be considered by us as a remedy under the present circumstances, for we are fully determined to hold out until the principles we are contending for are carried.
>
> It is the earnest desire of every honest toiler in Metropolitan City to accomplish this their purpose in as orderly a way as this dire contingency will allow.
>
> The stringency of food is already being felt; therefore, to avoid plunder, arson, or violence by persons made desparate by destitution, we are ready to concur with Your Honor in taking timely measures to supply the immediate wants of the foodless, and respectfully offer the following suggestions, namely: if it is not in your power to relieve this distress, we request that a convention of merchants be called by Your Honor to meet and confer with us as to the best way to procure food for our distressed brothers and their families.
>
> Each member of all labor organizations will hold themselves individually and collectively responsible to pay for all food procured by their order.

> That we, the unfortunate, toiling citizens, desire to faithfully maintain the majesty of the law while we are contending for our inalienable rights.
>
> Therefore, we in good faith give you our earnest assurance to assist you in maintaining order and protecting property. Further, in order to avoid riot, we have determined to have no large processions until our organization is so complete as to positively assure the citizens of Metropolitan City of a perfect maintenance of order and full protection to life and property.
>
> In the name of all workingmen's associations, by the Executive Committee of the Metropolitan City Workingmen's Association.
> (Cited in Scharf, p. 1046)

The governor responded by mobilizing the state militia, who were joined by federal troops sent in by President Hayes. This resistance was effective in breaking the strike and restoring civil order. Soon rail service was restored between the City and Gordon Depot.

The end of reconstruction brought with it a renewed sense of optimism among the majority population as economic conditions began to improve. For minorities, the outlook was not so bright. The end of reconstruction also meant a reduced commitment by the federal government to promote equity and civil rights. By the end of reconstruction another minority group, the Native American population, was on the brink of cultural destruction. In spite of Custer's defeat in 1876, within a year nearly all Indian resistance to White encroachment had been checked. One of the most heroic, and sad episodes in the twilight of a multi-millenial culture involves the 1,500 mile march of the Nez Perce tribe. The surrender of Chief Joseph in 1877 was recorded in these words:

> Our chiefs are killed....The little children are freezing to death. My people have no blankets, no food....I want to have time to look for my children and see how many of them I can

> find. Maybe I shall find them among the dead. Hear me, my chiefs; I am tired; my heart is sick and sad. From where the sun now stands, I will fight no more forever.
>
> (Cited in Bragdon and McCutchen, p. 390)

3.3 Conclusion

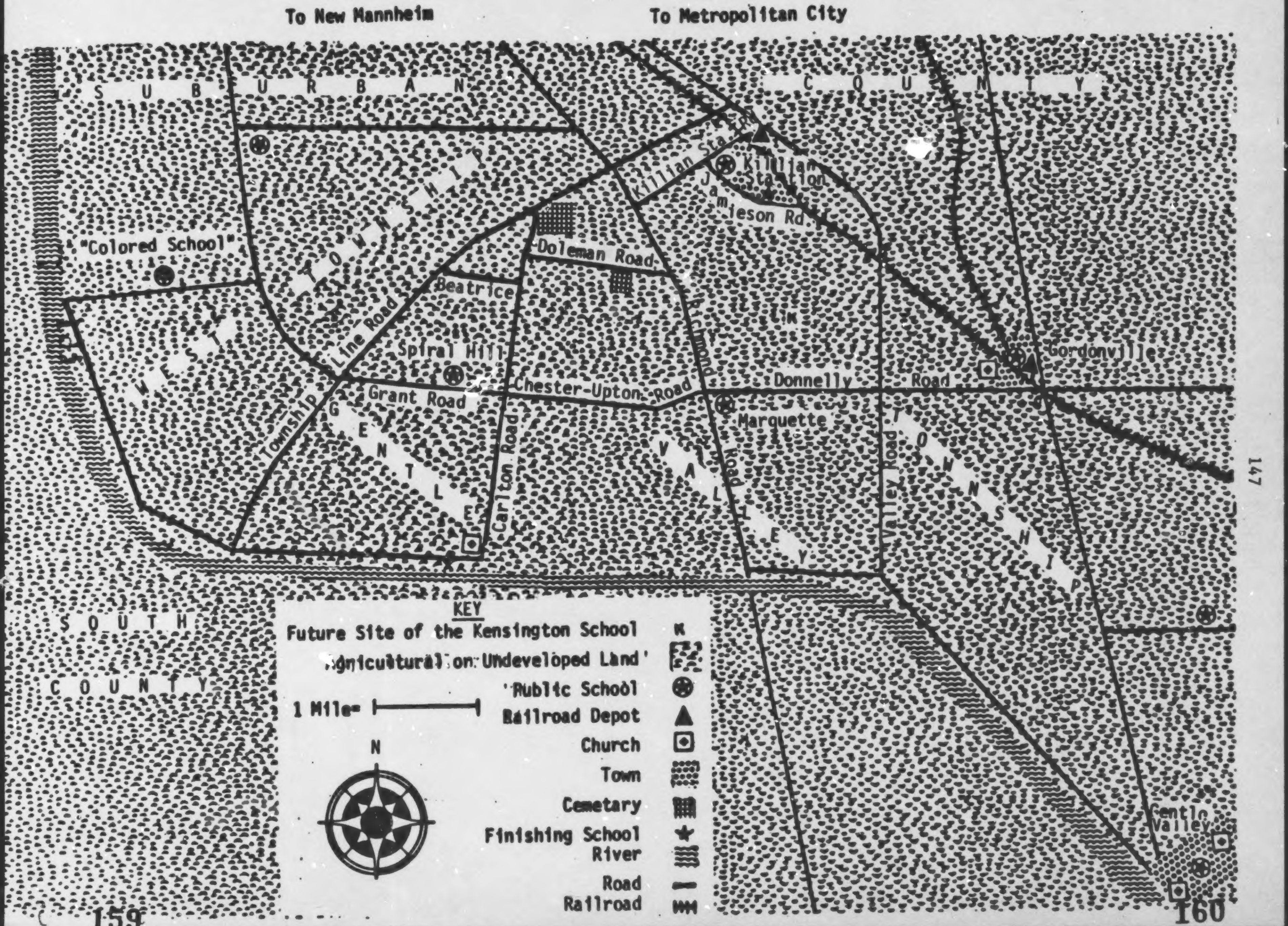
The emergence of Metropolitan City as one of the nation's major cities eclipsed much of community development in small towns like Gordonville and Killian Station. These, in turn, overshadowed the subtle community infrastructure which had emerged in Milford by 1878. We would like to conclude this chapter by examining this embryonic community whose features fashioned subsequent growth and development in Milford, and a century later would be central to the dynamics of racial transition, school board policy on neighborhood schools, and the fate of the Kensington experiment.

We would now like to take a mental journey through Milford and its regional context at the end of reconstruction. The map of the area, shown as Figure 9 is based upon an old county platbook from 1878. Allowing some degrees of freedom in our use of inference and imagination, we try to recreate some images of the Milford community a century ago.

Insert Figure 9 About Here

There are a number of routes that would have taken us into Milford from Metropolitan City. The most convenient and progressive by far was the railroad, which could transport us between the City and Gordonville in less than an hour. Once at Gordonville, it would be necessary to

Figure 9: The Milford School District and Its Regional Context in 1878


To New Mannheim
To Metropolitan City
SUBURBAN
COUNTY
WEST TOWNSHIP
"Colored School"
Township Line Road
Beatrice
Doleman Road
Killian Sta. Rd.
Killian Station
Jamieson Rd.
Spiral Hill
Grant Road
Chester-Upton Road
Carlton Road
Richmond Road
Donnelly Road
Marquette
Gordonville
Valley Road
GENTLE VALLEY TOWNSHIP
SOUTH COUNTY
Gentle Valley
KEY
Future Site of the Kensington School
Agricultural or Undeveloped Land
Public School
Railroad Depot
Church
Town
Cemetary
Finishing School
River
Road
Railroad
1 Mile=
N

saddle up or hitch a team of horses to continue on. We could avail ourselves of the livery services near the Depot, and head south on Main Street. Passing through this community of 40 families, we would see a rail yard where a small group of workers is loading grain into a train for shipment. We continue past a hotel, the Presbyterian Church, and the two-room public school and then reach the Donnelly Road, where we face the stately home of the Hastings family on the edge of town. Turning west here, we travel past the Donnelly property and about a mile outside of town reach the Valley Road, constructed sometime since 1850.[12] If we were to turn south onto Valley Road, we could continue into the town of Gentle Valley, some five miles away. A turn to the north would take us into Killian Station, about three miles down the road. We believe the Valley Road served as a boundary for the children who attended the Gordonville Public School, just as this thoroughfare in the modern day is a school district boundary. Part of our reasoning becomes apparent as we continue west along the Donnelly Road, and cross over into what became the Milford School District in 1947.

The sloping pastureland on the north side of the road is the Harmon property, where the Kensington School would be built in 1964. Just behind Harmon's, and not visible from the road, is the Jamieson dairy farm. On the south side of the road is more property owned by the

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[12] Street maps and plat books have been a principal source material in tracing the course of community development. Maps before 1900 have been hard to come by, and one of the gaps in our map set is the period between 1850 and 1878. This impedes precise dating of roads and buildings in the absence of other data sources. Our inquiry at the County Department of Highways only revealed that records of old roadwork are not retained, leaving us with no option but to specify a period of time during which construction occurred.

Donnelly family, and a tract belonging to the descendents of Frank Roberts, to whom we have referred in the last chapter concerning an advertisement for a runaway slave. The Roberts home still stands in present day Milford in an upper-middle class enclave.

As we continue west on Donnelly, we count eight homes over a mile stretch. These and a dozen more set back in the woods and fields form the nucleus of the Marquette School District, named for the Jesuit explorer who paddled past the Sauk River some 200 years earlier. Just this side of the old Richmond Plank Road and to our left is a schoolhouse which families like the Harmon's and Roberts no doubt had a hand in establishing. We presume this school was named Marquette, and that it was a one-room frame structure of recent construction. Without conducting a land title search, we are able to say little more than a building, used as a "school and church"[13] was nestled upon a hill near the intersection of Richmond and Donnelly Roads in 1878. This school has long since disappeared. Somewhere before 1909, a new school was built across the road and about a quarter mile east of its 1878 location. Barring the possibility of some tragedy such as fire, the old building was probably put to use as a barn or storage shed until a subdivision was built on the spot in the 1940's.[14]

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[13] At first we wondered whether or not two institutions, a school and a church, might have stood on this site. However, the platbook shows only one building on this lot. From what we know from earlier discussion of the use of school buildings by religious groups, it is likely that this was a public school, with auxiliary religious uses. Indeed schools were "obleeged" to provide such meeting space to religious congregations. Had a religious school been located here, the map would probably have been worded "church and school."

[14] Often times land for a schoolhouse was donated and when the property ceased to be used for educational purposes, it reverted to the owner.

The street name changes from Donnelly to Chester-Upton as we cross the Richmond Road, now three miles outside of Gordonville. Over the next two miles the pastures, woods and fields are punctuated by only two homes we can see from the road. On the south side, to our left, the Upton estate stretches along the first mile, followed by the Chester property along the second mile. Most of the land on the north side of the Chester-Upton Road is owned by the Grant family. As we near the Carlton Road intersection, the large brick home built by Dr. John Grant would be visible, just as it is in the present day.

Continuing west and reaching the Carlton Road, we would find the home built by Elias Chester in 1812 less than a mile to the south. In 1878, the old home was occupied by the General's son, Randall Chester. A half a mile further south is the Carlton Methodist Church, built a quarter of a century earlier by the congregation and their slaves. A short distance beyond is the Sauk River and the site of Fort Carlton, which last served as a military post in the mid 1820's.

As we cross the Carlton Road and continue west, the name of the road changes again; this time from Chester-Upton to Grant. The terrain here becomes increasingly wooded and hilly. Much of the property on the south side belongs to the Chesters. The Grants own most of the land on the north side. About a half mile west of Carlton and on the Grant side of the road we would find another one-room schoolhouse in 1878. We believe this was the original Spiral Hill School, and base this inference upon a street named Spiral Hill which runs through a modern subdivision on the same plat as the old schoolhouse. Families like the Grants and Chesters were sure to have taken an active role in the founding of the

Spiral Hill School. Scharf (1883) writes that Randall Chester "has given his children the advantages of a liberal education, and has always been a strong advocate of education and public improvements" (p. 1857). This little country school was the nucleus of the Spiral Hill School District which merged with the Marquette District in 1947 to become the Milford Consolidated School District.[15]

Less than a mile further west we pass the Edinburg property and next the small Covington farm on the left before reaching the Township Line Road. This road, while only two years old in 1878, was built along a jurisdictional boundary which had been in place for more than a half century. The Township Line Road was probably an attendance boundary for the Spiral Hill School in 1878 just as it continues to define Milford's western edge in the present day. About three miles further west is the "colored school" to which we have made earlier reference.

At the Township Line Road, a turn to the south would take us past a half dozen farms spread over a mile and a half of fertile valley land. However, as we begin the return leg of our trip, we turn north and travel along the low lands with the future City of Milford atop the wooded hills to our right. Over the next mile we pass two farmhouses on the Spiral Hill side of the road before reaching a thoroughfare called Beatrice Avenue. Only one farm house is to be found on this three-quarter mile street. However, the significance of this tract of property is enhanced by our knowing that the southern side of Beatrice Avenue was owned by the Eastern State Mutual Life Insurance Company. In the next chapter we shall tell how this property became the site of Milford's first industry.

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[15] As with the Marquette School, we have little specific information about the old Spiral Hill School, save for its presence indicated on the platbook of 1878. If our inference is correct that "Spiral Hill" received its name after the innovation in the City Schools known as the "spiral curriculum", this would have the school built sometime between 1871 and 1878.

Continuing eastward, we once again reach the Carlton Road where we detour north for a short distance before picking up the Doleman Road, another thoroughfare named for a pioneer Milford family. Just another quarter mile north on Carlton would take us to a cemetary begun in 1864 by a German Protestant sect. This cemetary today is the northernmost portion of the Milford School District, and is situated only a few miles south of the German community of New Mannheim.[16] Heading east on the Doleman Road, we pass a half a dozen small farms on the south side of this bumpy country road. Nestled among the farm lands we find another German Protestant graveyard which was "Founded in 1859", as a sign in the modern day reads. No doubt many loyal union soldiers made these lots in northern Milford their final resting place.

Continuing east on Doleman, we unwittingly straddle a latter day northern boundary of the Milford School District. Soon we reach a T-intersection with the Richmond Road, and were we to turn south, in a mile and a half we would be back down to the Donnelly Road and the Marquette School. Along the way we would pass the grazing dairy herds of the Harmon's and Jamieson's, the a future attendance area of the Kensington School. Rather than turning south, we rein left on the Richmond Road and pass out of the present day Milford School District. To our right, is the old Killian estate, which by 1878 had undergone some subdivision. Reaching the corner of the Killian property, we turn right and head towards town on the Killian Station Road. For the first half mile, there is little evidence of a small town ahead. But reaching the crest of a hill we can see a scattering of homes in the valley below. In the next third of a mile, we pass a half a dozen homes on the right side of the road. At the first intersecting street, Jamieson Avenue, we find the Killian Public School.[17] The modern era Killian School District developed around this school. A half century later, the Killian school system would provide the Spiral Hill District its second superintendent.[18]

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[16] New Mannheim was founded during the Civil War and falls within the city limits and jurisdiction of Metropolitan City. This German town is one of the elements of Milford's regional context that we shall say more about in the next Chapter. The presence of a significant German population in Milford in 1878 should not be inferred from the presence of cemetaries. The German population to the north apparently found suitable land more available to the south, rather than further north towards Metropolitan City, where land was much more expensive.

Were we to follow the Jamieson Road, we would pass a dozen houses enroute to the Killian Mansion, which in 1878, operated as the "Metropolitan City Seminary for Young Ladies" until 1907. Parts of this building complex still stand today. Killian Station had no churches or business in 1878. In all, perhaps 25 families lived around the Killian Station, which we reach shortly by continuing east on the road by the same name. At the Depot we could make rail connections to Gordonville, three miles southeast, or to downtown Metropolitan City, 45 minutes north.

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[17] The 1878 platbook simply labels this lot as "school." A conversation with the President of the Killian Station Historical Society confirms that this was the first Killian School. While unable to provide a precise date of construction, this small school was probably built in the late 1860's.

[18] See Volume II for further discussion of the superintendency of Mr. Grey.

We now end our tour through the Milford region at the end of reconstruction, just before major changes were about to sweep through Milford and its neighbors. We continue to document this metamorphosis, and chronicle the development of the Milford School District in the next chapter.

4. THE BEGINNINGS OF MODERN MILFORD

This chapter is a continuation of our story of the growth and development of the community which one day would become the Milford School District. As in the last chapter, our task is essentially descriptive and our scope includes multiple layers of context, but attends most closely to the goings on in nearby cities and towns around Milford. The following narrative covers the five decades between 1879 and 1929. We divide this half century into two periods. The first extends between 1879 and 1902, and depicts the final years of agricultural Milford. During the second period, covering the time between 1903 and 1929, we examine the development of industry, the first suburban housing and the evolution of a school system which had Blacks and Whites attending separate schools.

As we proceed forward in time, there shall be both continuity and change in the cast of characters. Family names like Chester, Grant and Hastings shall continue to appear in the narrative and new actors with names like Tholozan and Hauser will replace others such as Gordon and Maloney. Like with the previous chapters, we rely upon a variety of historical documents and sources. One important difference between this chapter and those preceeding is that we have been able to speak directly with persons like Mrs. Irma Hauser and Mr. F. K. Tholozon, whereas before now all of the persons we have profiled have long been deceased. This itself seems to justify the title "The Beginnings of Modern Milford."

4.1 The Twilight of Pastoral Milford: 1879-1902

We have been fortunate to obtain an unpublished masters thesis titled "The Geography of Marquette Valley" (Hunstein, 1946). This document is an historical study of land use along the Marquette Creek, a five mile stream that stretches west from Gordonville, meanders past the Kensington School, and merges with a tributary of the Sauk River in the northeast corner of the Milford School District. Hunstein characterizes the period between 1879 and 1902 as the "Truck Farming Stage" which he thus describes:

> By the latter half of the 1800's the landscape of Marquette Valley was showing adaptations to the urbanization of Metropolitan City. The city was rapidly becoming a commercial center, and a market was growing for fresh fruit and vegetables, because many of the residents of Metropolitan City no longer found time nor had space to grow them themselves..... The easily worked fertile lands of Marquette Valley furnished excellent sites for this occupation. Many of the bottoms and terraces, with their loessial soils, were turned over to this new, profitable, intensive farming. The excellent growing conditions were shown by the following crops which were grown economically: Irish potatoes, sweet potatoes, tomatoes, peppers, asparagus, sweet corn, egg-plant, peas, beans, onions, parsley, leek, okra, spinach and rhubarb, lettuce and celery, beets, carrots, radishes, horse-radish, parsnips, turnips, cabbage, kale, cauliflower, collards, kohlrabi, watermelon, cucumbers, and squash. Irish potatoes, sweet potatoes and tomatoes were the most extensively grown, ranking in the order named.
>
> The cultural aspects introduced by the Truck Farming Stage were those characteristics of intensive farming. Many of the richer, easily tillable, better drained lands held in general farms were subdivided into small truck garden plots. Because of the intensive cultivation these lands were constantly in need of improvement, through the use of fertilization, aeration and cultivation. As a result of the intensifying of farming there was an increase in the number of landholders .....The large estates...had been broken up into smaller holdings giving Marquette Valley a more intricate pattern. This was particularly true along the major roads in the western half of the Valley.....By the end of this Truck Farming Stage the landscape of Marquette Valley had begun to show a varied

> pattern. The truck farms were integrated with certain of the general farms, resulting in a varied pattern of agriculture; partly extensive and partly intensive farming, having the characteristics of each. It was not until the next stage than an entirely new cultural pattern was introduced.
> (Hunstein, 1946, pp.56-58)

The shift to intensive agriculture was aided by technological advances such as the steam driven threshing machine, and population increases brought about by westward expansion and settlement. In the year 1880, Metropolitan City contained 350,000 residents. By 1900, the City's population had increased to 575,000. During these same two decades, Suburban County grew from 32,000 to 50,000. Much of the growth of Gentle Valley Township in this era occurred in Gordonville, Killian Station and the City of Gentle Valley. In 1880, Gordonville contained 185 residents. By 1900 the population was nearly 1300. Killian Station increased from about 100 to 1,000 in the same period. The City of Gentle Valley, with 800 residents in 1880, increased in size to about 1,200, becoming second to Gordonville as the most populous community in the Township.

During the truck farming stage, the rural community that later became the Milford School District changed little in comparison to its neighbors. Records from Carlton Methodist, the only church in the district, indicate that the congregation barely held its own during this period of intensive agrigulture. The Church history provides a longitudinal context to the period we have called "The Twilight of Pastoral Milford":

> In taking an over-all look at the story of Carlton Methodist we find that the growth of the church naturally divides into periods, much like the growth of rings of a forest tree. There are times of fast growth and rapid progress, followed by periods of slow growth, often approaching stagnation. These

> variations in growth and progress enable us to divide the story into definite periods of time....The little class of neighbors...struggled along in the developing wilderness and through the pangs of changing times. This culminated in a period of rapid growth and the building of a church buidling. Next came the war years and those following--no doubt a period of change and upheaval, but still a period of growth for the little church in the country forest setting. The next epoch covers the time from the year 1872--73 to about 1906. This period was one of little change. Carlton and one other church were the only churches in the circuit. The other church grew weaker, while Carlton just about held its own. At Carlton, the working force of the church consisted of the members of less than a dozen families. The record during this period cousists largely of a list of admissions and departures of members of these families. (1976, p. 10)

While some important changes occurred in the community surrounding the Marquette and Spiral Hill Schools between 1879 and 1902, the notable developments took place after this period. We believe these later changes are better understood by knowing about the events and circumstances taking shape just outside the district boundaries. So once again we turn our attention to Milford's regional context.

Just three years after the "Great Divorce of 76", a narrow gauge steam railway united the city of Gentle Valley with Metropolitan City and made each within reasonable commuter reach of the other. As the newly constituted county government helped shape the future of Suburban County, the interests of the citizens of Gentle Valley Township were represented by three county council members with whom we are familiar. One was a young lawyer named James Hastings. Another was J. R. Chester, son of General Elias Chester. The third was Frank Roberts, who passed away in 1881 before his term expired.

The City of Gentle Valley, before is descendency as the most populous community in the Township, was described by Scharf (1883):

The situation and surroundings of Gentle Valley have not been such as to lead to the establishment there of any important manufactories or shops, beyond what have been required to meet the wants of the people in the immediate vicinity. The round-house and machine-shop of the Narrow-Gauge Railroad is located here, at the terminus of that road. It is the repair-shop of the road, and it has facilities for making all the repairs on the rolling-stock, and building locomotives when necessary. The machinery is driven by an engine of twenty-five horse-power, and eight men are employed.

The city has now six general stores, two hotels, three wagon- and blacksmith-shops, four shops, three tailor-shops, two harness-shops, one shoe manufactory, one tin-shop, and two physicians. Its population, according to the census of 1880, was eight hundred and seventeen.

The (religious) establishment at Gentle Valley has steadily increased in usefulness and importance, and additions have from time to time been made to the buildings as such additions have become necessary, and now the community here numbers thirty-five sisters. As its school has increased better facilities for instruction have been added till in 1880 it was deemed advisable to erect a new school building. Accordingly, on the 1st of August in that year, the erection of a new academy was commenced, under the supervision of Mother Mary Joseph, then Superior of the convent, but in August, 1882, elected Superior of the order.

The building was completed in 1882, and dedicated on the 8th of September in that year. It is of brick, and covers an area of one hundred and twenty by eighty feet. It is five stories in height, including the basement. The latter has the refectory, the culinary department, a recreation-room for junior scholars, and the heating and lighting apparatus. It, as well as all the other stories, is traversed each way centrally by corridors ten and twelve feet in width. On the first floor, above the basement, are the study halls, class-rooms, and music-rooms. On the second are the dormitories, oratory, library, and music-rooms. On the third are the exhibition-room, the studio, and the infirmary. On the fourth are the young ladies' ward-robe, the museum, and the astronomical and philosophical apparatus, and on the top is an astronomical observatory. The house is heated by steam, lighted by gas, has water distributed to all parts of it, and, in short, is furnished with all the improvements which modern ingenuity, guided by long experience, has been able to suggest. Two features are particularly noteworthy: the excellent ventilation and the facilities for egress in case of fire. The sisters of the institution planned the building, and its construction was under their supervision.

(pp. 1888, 1892)

In the same period, the conditions were being created in Gordonville to insure its ascendency as the Township's largest city:

> Gordonville had little importance previous to 1878, but at about that time a rapid growth commenced, and now it contains about sixty families. It has a post-office, a hotel, two stores, three machine-shops, and two churches. The population is largely composed of railroad employees and their families, who find here a convenient and pleasant place of residence. By reason of the absence of marshes in the vicinity and the excellent quality of the water, the village is remarkably healthy.
>
> Of the churches in Gordonville, St. Kevin's (Catholic) is now (1882) in process of erection. It will be a neat wooden structure, with a seating capacity of three hundred and fifty.
>
> The Presbyterian Church at Gordonville was erected about 1873. It is a tasteful frame edifice, with a seating capacity of between three and four hundred. The society has been supplied by different clergymen, and with commendable liberality it has opened the doors of its house of worship to other demoninations.
>
> In 1877-78 a brick building was erected for a public school. It has two school-rooms on the first floor, and in the second story a hall, which is to be divided into school-rooms as future extigencies require. The cost of the building was fifty-six thousand dollars. A Kindergarten school is also kept in the village.
>
> The place has one physician and three attorneys, one of whom is a State senator, and another is a member of the House of Representatives in the State.
>
> In 1882 a cheese-factory was erected in the village, with all the latest improved machinery and appliances for establishments of that kind. It has facilities for handling three thousand gallons of milk daily, and for cooling the milk it has an ice-machine with a daily capacity of three tons of ice. It is the property of a stock company, with J. C. Baxter, manager. The company has adopted the plan of furnishing farmers in the vicinity with cows on conditions arranged between the parties. (1883, p. 1897)

The location of a cheese factory in Gordonville was partially due to the rail shipping facilities in the little town. Equally important was the presence of such long established and successful dairy farms operated by the Harmons where the Kensington School stands today, and the Jamiesons across the Marquette Creek on the outskirts of Killian Station.

Shortly after Gordonville began its period of commercial and residential development, the small community founded by Orville Killian more than four decades earlier underwent a major transformation. A "company town" was created when a photographic process plant located in Killian Station. A recent newspaper article recounted some of the changes which took place in Milford's neighbor to the north:

> In the 1880's, the area (of Killian Station) was reshaped by another immigrant, an Englishman named Myron Thyme. Thyme opened a dry plate--an early photographic process--business that employed about 500 people in what in essence was a company town. Many of the houses and bungalows of present-day Killian Station were company-built homes for workers, who were also provided by Thyme with a church and recreation areas, including a small lake. The dry plate plant was a castle-like affair, and Thyme's own home was a local wonder, with a glass-roofed conservatory and four acres of formal gardens. (Metro Gazette, 5-10-82)

In the mid 1880's, a number of more distant events contextually enveloped the goings on in the region of Milford. The rise of labor unions was one such significant phenomenon. Union influence was exerted in passing legislation such as the Chinese Exclusion Act, designed to protect American jobs. This was also the era of monopolies as industrial moguls like Rockefeller consolidated scores of companies to form trusts like Standard Oil. Significant to the meat packing industry in Metropolitan City was the collapse of the "cattle kingdom" after decades of overgrazing on the open ranges of the west. In 1885 the Knights of Labor successfully staged a rail strike which brought operations to a standstill along the tracks between Metropolitan City, Killian Station and Gordonville. By 1886, membership in the Knights of Labor increased seven-fold from the previous year. However, the violence associated with events such as the Hay Market Riot eroded public support for the Knights, and created the conditions for the new American Federation of Labor to gain a foothold under the more moderate leadership of Samuel Gompers.

In the year 1886, the first cable car was introduced to the streets of Metropolitan City, followed several years later by the electric trolley car. These advances in transportation catalyzed population growth into the outer city limits, and increased the commerce, growth and prosperity of communities like New Mannheim, and brought the suburbs to rural Milford's northwest doorstep.

In this era the expansion of Catholic education was given impetus by instructions laid down by bishops at the Council of Baltimore. This church policy of 1886 required the institution and maintenance of parochial schools all across the country. However, it would take a number of years before the young parish of St. Kevin in Gordonville would open a school. Two more Protestant churches--Methodist and Lutheran--sprang up in Gordonville in 1887 and 1888. The vigorous religious life just east of Milford must have contributed to the low membership at the Carlton Methodist Church during these years. 1887 surely brought sadness to this little congregation in the soutwest of Milford upon the passing away of J.R. Chester, one of the church's founders and most dedicated members. The death of the man who headed the Carllton Road estate since his father's death in 1833 was no doubt mourned more widely than by the Methodist congregation alone. We must assume that some tears were also shed by families who had benefitted by Chester's support for the Spiral Hill School, as well as those citizens whose interests J. R. represented on the County Council. With the passing of J. R. Chester, the number of those with vivid recollections of the institution of slavery in Milford decreased significantly. Chester was laid to rest in the family plot behind the 75 year old home. One of his sons, Frank Roberts Chester[19] assumed the responsibility as head of the household, and a third generation of Chesters carried on with the estate begun in 1812.

Among the many new arrivals to Gordonville in 1887 was one Frederick Hauser, who was to become one of Gordonville's leading businessmen. Nearly 80 years later, Hauser's daughter-in-law would be one of Kensington School's first teachers.

1899 marks the year Henry Barnard became the first U.S. Commisioner of Educuation, a post he occupied until 1906. The American Journal of Education which Barnard edited, provided a scholarly forum for educational issues of the day. Indeed, psychological and educational research and were emerging in Europe and America in the seminal works of such figures as Wundt and G. S. Hall.

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[19] Presumabley named after J. R.'s neighbor and fellow County Council member, Frank Roberts.

By the end of the 1880's, the plight of the urban poor found compassionate response in the founding of the country's first settlement house by Jane Addams and Ellen Starr in a Chicago slum. Within six years, 50 such relief centers sprang up in cities across the country, including Metropolitan City.

Near Milford, commercial and residential growth continued in Killian Station and Gordonville, the latter adding another Protestant church to the community. Aside from the subdivision of large farms into smaller truck gardens, the landscape of pastoral Milford changed little in the 1880's. The addition of a cemetary on the Carlton Raod just north of the Grant property was the only other significant change in the pattern of land use in this decade.

The "Gay '90's" were ushered in with little fanfare by the farmers and dairymen spread around the Marquette and Spiral Hill Schools. Metropolitan City, with a population approaching a half million, no doubt had more lavish celebrations of the new decade. On the national scene, the Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1891 attempted to stem the growing monopolies in industries such as oil, sugar and the railroads declaring "Every contract, combination in the form of trusts or otherwise, or conspiracy, in restraint of trade or commerce among the several states or with foreign nations, is hereby declared to be illegal...". The Sherman Anti-Trust Act was no more effective in curbing monopolies than the Interstate Commerce Act had been three years earlier. Indeed, the conservative tenor of Supreme Court in this era resulted in a number of decisions very favorable to large business interests. Years later, with more vigorous enforcement, these laws were to become more effective in removing constraints to free enterprize.

The growing concern over immigration was piqued in 1891 when U.S Senator Henry Cabot Lodge published "The Restriction of Immigration" from which we quote below:

> Thus it is proved, first, that immigration to this country is increasing, and, second, that it is making its greatest relative increase from races most alien to the body of the American people and from the lowest and most illiterate classes among those races. In other words, it is apparent that, while our immigration is increasing, it is showing at the same time a marked tendency to deteriorate in character ....
>
> As one example of the practical effect of unrestricted immigration the committee[20] cite the case of the coal-mining country.
>
> Generally speaking, the class of immigrants who have lately been imported and employed in the coal regions of this country are not such, in the opinion of the committee, as would make desirable inhabitants of the United States. They are of a very low order of intelligence. They do not come here with the intention of becoming citizens; their whole purpose being to accumulate by parsimonious, rigid, and unhealthy economy a sum of money and then return to their native land. They live in miserable sheds like beasts; the food they eat is so meagre, scant, unwholesome, and revolting that it would nauseate and disgust an American workman, and he would find it difficult to sustain life upon it. Their habits are vicious, their customs are disgusting, and the effect of their presence here upon our social condition is to be deplored. They have not the influences, as we understand them, of a home; they do not know what the word means; and, in the opinion of the committee, no amount of effort would improve their morals or "Americanize" this class of immigrants. They have been brought here in such numbers, and have been employed at such low wages, that it has resulted in their replacing the American citizens who formerly performed this class of labor, until now there are comparatively few Americans engaged in mining coal in Pennsylvania....

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[20] Lodge is referring to a congressional committee appointed to investigate the subject of immigration.

> In a word, the continued introduction into the labor market of four hundred thousand persons annually, half of whom have no occupation and most of whom represent the rudest form of labor, has a very great effect in reducing the rates of wages and disturbing the labor market. This, of course, is too obvious to need comment, and this tendency to constantly lower wages by competition of an increasing and deteriorating immigration is a danger to the people of the United States the gravity of which can hardly be overestimated. Moreover, the shifting of the sources of the immigration is unfavorable, and is bringing to the country people whom it is very difficult to assimilate and who do not promise well for the standard of civilization in the United States--a matter as serious as the effect on the labor market.
>
> The question, therefore, arises,--and there is no more important question before the American people--What shall be done to protect our labor against this undue competition, and to guard our citizenship against an infusion which seems to threaten deterioration? We have the power, of course, to prohibit all immigration, or to limit the number of persons to be admitted to the country annually, or--which would have the same effect--to impose upon immigrants a heavy tax. Such rough and stringent measures are certainly neither necessary nor desirable if we can overcome the difficulties and dangers of the situation by more moderate legislation. These methods, moreover, are indiscriminate; and what is to be desired, if possible, is restriction which shall at the same time discriminate. (Cited im Current and Goodwin, 1980, pp. 481-2)

Meanwhile, and much closer to Milford, a new country school was contructed in the year 1891 by the West Township School District. One of the school's first students was interviewed by Franzwa (1977) and provided a description of the little school three miles from the Milford border. What follows was probably not too different from school life at the Marquette or Spiral Hill schools:

> The one room building was small, about 24 feet by 30 feet, but large enough to accommodate 50 or 55 students seated in double desks placed in four rows with aisles between and one on each side. As time went by, seating arrangements were changed as class attendance diminished. In the early days, a pot-bellied stove stood near the center of the front part of the building, surrounded by a metal jacket which acted as a circulator and protected those who sat nearest the stove. At closing time in winter, ink bottles were frequently placed near the stove to

> keep them from freezing during the night when the fire died down. A large coal box was placed at the right side of the stove. This was filled each evening and held enough coal to replenish the fire during the coming day. Coal, always in generous supply, was kept in a shed at the rear of the school building.
>
> The teacher's desk was on a raised platform or rostrum in the back part of the room. There were few discipline problems--spit balls, pig-tails dipped in ink wells, and most serious, snowballing as pupils dashed along the hard beaten paths to the two important little houses on the opposite corners of the school yard. Some very old timers say that boys and girls were not restricted from attending school because of age--some boys coming with full-grown mustaches, and children at a very early age. They were mostly farm children, and attendance swelled when they were not needed on the farm. This worked a hardship on the teachers but they were patient, gentle and understanding and they were most all loved and respected.
>
> Water was brought in from a cistern that was just outside the side door and the metal or granite bucket was placed on a bench near the door together with a wash basin for washing dirty hands, and all drank from the universal dipper.
>
> Six kerosene lamps, one at each of the side windows, served to light up the building. These were used on rare occasions--probably a board meeting once or twice a year, maybe to set the teacher's salary for the coming year ($10 to $40 per month), or the annual Christmas party. The Christmas party was one of the highlights of the school year. Children were given bags of candy, nuts, apples, and oranges. A program was rendered and a Christmas tree was lighted by candles.
>
> The earliest texts were McGuffy readers, Websters Blue Back spellers, and Ray's arithmetic. Later these were replaced by such texts as agriculture, physiology, Franklin's readers, English grammar, U. S. history, civil government (later known as political science), geography, New Spelling Copy books, and some years the German language was taught. An eighth grade graduate was required to pass an examination in each of the above subjects, except German, which was optional. Much of the work was oral, often by rote, or repetition, and by the time one reached the eighth grade he knew most of the answers. This accounts for the excellent foundation and ability to retain fundamental facts. (pp. 22-24)

We could not let the year 1892 pass without mentioning the birthdate of F. K. Tholozan who, 90 years later would be riding around Milford with us talking about the community in which he settled in 1917.

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Considerable labor unrest occurred in the early 1890's. The decision by the Carnegie Steel Company to cut workers' wages led to a bloody strike by an AFL affiliate which pitted workers against Pinkerton gaurds and cost 13 lives. Two years later, in 1894, when the Pullman Palace Car Company announced pay cuts and layoffs, workers belonging to the American Railway Union struck the Illinois company. President Cleveland ordered soldiers to break the strike because of its interference with the U.S. mail. ARU leader Eugene Debs was jailed for failing to call the workers back, and after his release channeled his energies into forming the Socialist Party. The tensions between labor and management were brought about, in part, by economic conditions in the early 1890's. The Panic of 1893 triggered a stock market crash which sent industry reeling into depression. This economic and social milieu which prompted union activity spawned the formation of the Populist party in the political arena. It was also in this era that pragmatism was gaining currency and John Dewey's ideas about progressive education were taking shape.

The year 1894 found the nation in the grip of economic depression and at the end of an era of international peace and isolationism which began after the campaigns of General Elias Chester and the War of 1812. American residents in the kingdom of Hawaii deposed the native queen and set up a republic. Four years later, Hawaii was annexed by the United States. Several of the Samoan Islands also fell into American possession. Around Milford, these international events surely stirred some lively discussion. A couple local events were also topical in 1894. One of these was the completion of an electric power plant just outside the southwest corner of Milford on the Sauk River. Closer to Kensington, the town of Gordonville became the City of Gordonville in 1894. The city's first mayor was a 44 year old attorney named James Hastings--born, raised and educated in Gordonville. One year after Hastings' innauguration electricity was supplied to the City of Gordonville and Suburban County's first trolley car line linked Gordonville with another municipality named Smithville, 17 miles distant. Internationally, 1895 was a turbulent year. Across the Pacific, Japanese imperialism had the island of Formosa annexed, while off the coast of Florida civil war broke out in Cuba. In 1895 the U.S. fleet contained three war ships. The following year there were 13.

In 1896, the pastures and hills on the Spiral Hill side of Milford were bisected by a railway. Two small depots were built in Milford. One, in the northwest corner, was called "Pleasant Hill." Another, just south of the Grant Road became known as the "Chester" station. The U.S. Postal System was at the time experimenting with Rural Free Delivery and the mail coming into western Milford was addressed with the destination of "Chester". 1896 was also the year the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the doctrine of "separate but equal" in the case of Plessy v Ferguson. Metropolitan City was one of many cities where segregation was practiced in education, hotels, theaters and transportation. Throughout the south such practices as the poll tax, the "grandfather clause" and the use of literacy tests were used to by-pass the Fifteenth Amendment. What came to be known as "Jim Crow Laws" were to maintain a firm foothold for many decades to come.

The American Indian was another minority group whose plight was no better than the Black's. By 1897 very little hostile resistance was staged by native Americans and the nation was more concerned with the recent return to prosperity than the condition of the Indians. Nevertheless, as Frederick Hauser was opening a meat market in Gordonville, and a boardwalk planked the City's business district, Chief Joseph (1897) continued to give articulate expression to the Indian cause:

> I have shaken hands with a great many friends, but there are some things I want to know which no one seems able to explain. I cannot understand how the Government sends a man out to fight us, as it did General Miles,[21] and then breaks his word. Such a Government has something wrong about it. I can not understand why so many chiefs (United States officials) are allowed to talk so many ways, and promise so many different things....They all say they are my friends, and that I shall have justice, but while their mouths all talk right, I do not understand why nothing is done for my people. I have heard talk and talk, but nothing is done. Good words do not last long until they amount to something. Words do not pay for my dead people. They do not pay for my country, now overrun by white men. They do not protect my father's grave. They do not pay for my horses and cattle. Good words do not give me back my children. Good words will not make good the promise of your War Chief, General Miles. Good words will not give my people good health and stop them from dying. Good words will not get my people a home where they can live in peace and take care of themselves.
>
> I am tired of talk that comes to nothing. It makes my heart sick when I remember all the good words and all the broken promises. There has been too much talking by men who had no right to talk. Too many misrepresentations have been made, too many misunderstandings have come up between the white men about the Indians. If the white man wants to live in peace with the Indian he can live in peace. There need be no trouble. Treat all men alike. Give them all the same law. Give them all an even chance to live and grow....
>
> You might as well expect the rivers to run backward as that any man who was born a free man should be contented when penned up and denied liberty to go where he pleases. If you

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[21] General Nelson A. Miles commanded the troops that forced the Nez Perces to surrender in 1877; he had promised them that they would be sent to a reservation in the Northwest.

> tie a horse to a stake, do you expect he will grow fat? If you pen an Indian up on a small spot of earth, and compel him to stay there, he will not be contented, nor will he grow and prosper. I have asked some of the great white chiefs where they get their authority to say to the Indian that he shall stay in one place, while he sees white men going where they please. They can not tell me.
>
> I only ask of the Government to be treated as all other men are treated. If I can not go to my own home, let me have a home in a country where my people will not die so fast....
>
> I know that my race must change. We can not hold our own with the white men as we are. We only ask an even chance to live as other men live. We ask to be recognized as men. We ask that the same law shall work alike on all men. If an Indian breaks the law, punish him by the law. If a white man breaks the law, punish him also.
>
> Let me be a free man--free to travel, free to stop, free to work, free to trade where I choose, free to choose my own teachers, free to follow the religion of my fathers, free to think and talk and act for myself--and I will obey every law or submit to the penalty.
>
> (Cited in Current and Goodwin, pp. 513-14)

The growing tension between the U.S and Spain in the Carribean and South Pacific finally evolved into full scale war in 1898. Hyde and Conrad (1899), historians of Metropolitan City, recorded the event when it was still current:

> The war of 1898 between the United States and Spain grew out of the effort of the people of Cuba to throw off the Spanish yoke. They had made this effort repeatedly, always with increasing sympathy from the people of the United States, and when, in 1898, their struggle against Spanish authority, protracted through three years, had brought about the devastation of a large portion of the island, and was resisted by the Spaniards with a policy pitiless and unsparing the popular feeling in this country began to demand an overt espousal of the Cuban cause, and a strong sentiment in Congress favored war. In the midst of this condition of things, the United States Battleship "Maine," while lying at anchor in the harbor of Havana, whither she had been sent on a mission of international courtesy and good will, was, on the 15th of February, blown up by a torpedo, 566 of her crew perishing in the catasthrophe. This brought matters to a crisis, for, there was an almost universal conviction in this country that

the destruction of the ship was the work, direct or indirect, of the Spanish authorities, and it was clearly seen that war was inevitable. On the 9th of March, Congress, by a unanimous vote, in both houses, appropriated $50,000,000 "for the national defense and for each and every purpose connected therewith, to be expended at the discretion of the President." On the 19th of April, Congress passed, by a vote of 42 to 35 in the Senate, and 311 to 6 in the House, a joint resolution, declaring that "the people of the Island of Cuba are and of right ought to be free and independent," and that "the Government of the United States does hereby demand of the government of Spain to at once relinquish its authority and government in the Island of Cuba and withdraw its land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters." The Spanish minister at Washington at once demanded his passports, and the Spanish Government at Madrid broke off all relations with our minister, General Woodford. On the 22nd of April, the President proclaimed a blockade of the Northern coast of Cuba and on the 25th, Congress declared the existence of a state of war with Spain from and including the 21st day of April. On the 23rd the President called for 125,000 volunteers. On May 1st, Commodore George Dewey, with the Pacific fleet, attacked and destroyed the Spanish fleet in the Bay of Manilla, in the Philippine Islands. On the 3rd of June, at night, Lieutenant Hobson, with seven volunteers, sunk the collier "Merrimac" in the channel at the entrace of Santiago harbor, under a shower of fire from the shore batteries. On the 22nd of June the advance of our invading army under General Shafter, landed at Baiquiri, fifteen miles east of Santiago, and the movement against that place was begun. There was severe fighting on the 24th and on the 1st of July, and, on the 2nd of July, El Caney and San Juan were captured after desperate engagements--and this completed the investment of the city. On the 3rd, Admiral Cervera's fleet which had been lying in Santiago harbor for more than two months attempted to escape in the presence of our blockading squadron, and after a running fight of twenty miles, was utterly destroyed by the fire of our ships, the Spanish Admiral and over 1300 men taken prisoners, and 600 Spaniards perishing. This disaster to the Spanish arms was followed on the 15th of July by the capitulation of Santiago and the eastern end of Cuba, with the surrender of 22,000 prisoners. Then followed the invassion of Porto Rico, and by the 12th of August our army had possession of a large part of the Island without encountering serious resistance. The last scene of the war was enacted at Manilla on the 15th of August, when, after a brief assault, that city fell into our hands. This was the end of overt hostilities. The war began on May 1, in the Bay of Manilla, and ended there on the 15th of August. Our losses were: officers killed, 23; enlisted men killed, 257; total 280. Officers wounded, 113; enlisted men wounded, 1,464; total 1,577; of the navy, killed, 17; wounded, 67; died as a result of wounds, 18; invalided from service, 6; total 91. The deaths from disease from May 1, to December 31, 1898, were officers, 111; men, 4854.

> On the 25th of April the Governor of Midwest State was informed by the War Department that Midwest State's quota under the call for 125,000 volunteers, was one light battery of artilliery and five regiments of infantry, to serve for two years, unless sooner discharged. The Secretary of War expressed the desire that as far as practicable the National Guard be given the preference. North Barracks was made the rendezvous. On the 27th of April the Adjutant General of Midwest State issued an order granting authority for the organization of the Fifth Regiment of First Brigade, National Guard of Midwest State. On the 28th, commanding officers of the First, Second, Fourth and Fifth regiments of infantry, and Battery "A" National Guard of Midwest State were directed to issue orders for the election of officers to fill vacancies: and on May 2nd, permission was given to such officers and men of the Nation Guard of Midwest State as desired, to volunteer into the service of the United States. The troops began to arrive at North Barracks on the 1st of May. Light Battery "A" being the first to be mustered in and equipped for field service, was ordered to Chicamauga. It was recruited and enrolled in Metropolitan City. The Midwest State contingent arrived at Metropolitan City on the 18th and were received with honors by a committee of citizens and the Mayor, an interesting part of the ceremony being the presentation to each soldier of a medal made from metal taken from the ill-fated battleship "Maine." Midwest State furnished altogether 7,893 Infantry and 177 Artillery, a total of 8,109 soldiers and "in no instance," says the Adjutant General in his report, "were any of the men or officers of our Midwest State troops reported for any serious infraction of military discipline." (p. 2447)

Theodore Roosevelt, who led the "Rough Riders" on the seige of San Juan Hill, was destined to become the nation's next president.

At the turn of the century immigrants were arriving at the rate of nearly a million a year. In Metropolitan City at this time, the population was increasing by more than 10,000 per year. The nature of industrial production was also changing rapidly as electricity increasingly powered plants and factories across the nation. In 1900, the agricultural way of life around Milford had not yet changed. However, the way agriculture was practiced was in transition as the steam tractor was beginning to yield to the gasoline engine. The nature of schooling around Milford was also in transition at the turn of the century. In 1900 the position of County Superintendent of Schools was created, and for the first time students attending schools like Marquette and Spiral Hill were required to pass an examination administered at the County Seat in order to obtain a diploma.

The tragic death of president McKinley by an assassin's bullet made vice president Theodore Roosevelt the youngest president in the nation's history. An oil boom in Texas that same year spurred the growth of the petroleum industry, and the era of big business continued to flourish with men like J.P. Morgan purchasing Carnegie Steel and a number of other such companies to form the giant U.S. Steel Company, the nation's first billion dollar corporation.

For those living around Milford in 1902, national events were surely eclipsed by local developments. In the City of Gordonville, water mains were laid into the city, and the first telephones were installed. Pastoral Milford, which heretofore witnessed more change than it had experienced, was itself significantly changed in 1902. For this was the year that heavy industry located along the railroad depot at Pleasant Hill. The Midwest State Building Materials Company found the clay and limestone under Milford to be of superior quality in the production of brick and other products for construction, just as General Elias Chester had discovered 90 years earlier. For the farmers of Milford, the rural way of life would not change over night, but truly a new era had begun. We conclude this description of the "Twilight of Pastoral Milford" by providing a map that helps pictorialize the few but significant changes that occured in Milford since 1878. We show this as Figure 10.

Insert Figure 10 About Here

4.2 The First Wave of Suburbanization

This second section covers the period of time between 1903 and 1930. During this era, the landscape of Milford changed more than in the entire century preceeding. While most of Milford remained undeveloped or agricultural, a few suburban neighborhoods, and several small businesses sprang up in both the Marquette and Spiral Hill Districts. On the west side, two more manufacturing plants appeared alongside the Building Materials Company at Pleasant Hill.

Hunstein (1946) characterizes the period from 1902 to 1909 as the "Heavy Manufacturing Stage" of development of the Marquette valley. During this time Milford's first residential area, a "company town," emerged:

> Shortly after the turn of the century the fourth stage of sequent occupance began, heavy manufacturing and mining stage. In 1902, the Building Materials Company erected a modern plant at Pleasant Hill. There were many factors responsible for the choice of this location but among the most important was the proximity to raw material, namely fire clay, shale, limestone, and coal.
>
> A second localization factor was transportation. The rail facilities were those of the North and South Railroad. The route of this railroad is southward out of Metropolitan City, passing the central plant at Pleasant Hill. Here it utilizes a tributary of Marquette Creek to begin its ascent over the upland. Southward from this point it crosses the Sauk River near the limestone quarry and continues to South Central City. Since the route passes the plant, the shale quarry and the limestone quarry, the railroad serves to transport materials to the plant. At the Pleasant Hill location, the tracks and the plant are on the same level, so that spurs and sidings have been built to serve the numerous needs of a heavy industry. In addition to the local facilities, the North and South

> Railroad makes connection with all the major East-West lines passing through Metropolitan City, and is therefore important for shipping the finished products to the markets of the Metropolitan City area.
>
> Acquiring large amounts of land did not prove to be a difficult problem, because the area in the west end of the valley had been only slightly developed, most of it being farm land. The price was relatively low, and large tracts were available for this "ground floor" industry.
>
> In the beginning the labor supply was a problem because of the suburban location. There was no transportation from the end of the Main Car Line to Pleasant Hill, except one morning and evening train, although at one time horse-drawn cars were introduced, traveling from the end of the street car line to the plant. In an attempt to solve this problem, company residences were built adjacent to the plant.
>
> This fourth stage of sequent occupance made a distinct change in the cultural pattern of the valley. In previous stages the changes were a result of breaking down units already existing, into smaller, but essentially similar, units. There had been no change in motif, merely a change in the style of the motif already existing. The Heavy Manufacturing Stage introduced an entirely new cultural pattern in the western part of the valley but left the eastern part essentially unchanged. Superimposed upon an area of rolling fields, pastures, farmsteads and intensified truck farms were areas exhibiting manufacturing and quarrying features. The Building Materials plant with its many buildings, kilns, storage tanks, and towering smokestacks was a prominent feature and the huge quarrying operations also added to the cultural pattern. The heavy manufacturing pattern also introduced elements of a residential occupance. Urban development usually follows industrialization, and a residential district developed adjacent to the cement plant. Many workers found it convenient to live nearby and the community known as Pleasant Hill developed, having the characteristics of a residential area. (1946, pp. 59-62)

When the Building Materials Company was one year old and the most talked about current event was the Wright brothers' successful flight at Kitty Hawk, another important "first" was occurring in Gordonville. 1903 was the year that the Gordonville School District extended its course of study to grade 12, making it the first district in Suburban County to offer a high school diploma.

Nationally, the presidential race of 1904 had Theodore Roosevelt elected over his democratic opponent and the Socialist candidate, Eugene Debs. The policies which came to be labelled "progressive" were forged through coalitions built around such diverse elements as former Populists, labor unions, prohibitionists, conservationists, and civil service reformers. The common concern which united these elements was disapproval of the power of the corporate world, and its unholy alliance with politicians. However, the liberal vision of reform advanced by the progressives offered little hope for Blacks disenfranchised from mainstream America and the political process by prejudice and Jim Crow laws. One progressive apologist described the prevalent attitudes toward race in an article published in 1904 called "Following the Color Line":

> The world today is just beginning to meet new phases of the problem of race difference. Improved transportation and communication are yearly making the earth smaller. As Americans we are being brought every year into closer contact with black and yellow people. We are already disturbed not only by a Negro race problem, but on our Pacific coast and in Hawaii we have a Japanese and Chinese problem. In the Philippine Islands we have a tangle of race problems in comparison with which our Southern situation seems simple. Other nations are facing complexities equally various and difficult....
>
> Essentially, then, what is the race problem?
>
> The race problem is the problem of living with human beings who are not like us, whether they are, in our estimation, our "superiors" or "inferiors," whether they have kinky hair or pigtails, whether they are slant-eyed, hooknosed, or thick-lipped. In its essence it is the same problem, magnified, which besets every neighbourhood, even every family.
>
> In our own country we have 10,000,000 Negroes distributed among 75,000,000 white people. They did not come here to invade us, or because they wanted to come. We brought them by force, and at a fearful and cruel sacrifice of life. We brought them, not to do them good, but selfishly, that they might be compelled to do the hard work and let us live lazily, eat richly, sleep softly. We treated them as beasts of burden....

Two elements appear in every race problem: the first, race prejudice--the repulsion of the unlike; second, economic or competitive jealousy. Both operate, for example, in the case of the Irishman or Italian, but with the Negro and Chinaman race prejudice is greater because the difference is greater. The difficulty of the Negro in this country is the colour of his skin, the symbol of his difference. In China the difficulty of the white trader is his whiteness, his difference. Race lines, in short, are drawn by white men, not because the other race is inferior (the Japanese and Chinese are in many ways our superiors), nor because of criminality (certain classes of foreigners are more criminal in our large cities than the Negroes), nor because of laziness, but because of discernible physical differences--black skin, almond eyes, pigtails, hook noses, a peculiar bodily odour, or small stature. That dislike of a different people is more or less instinctive of all men....

This leads us to the most sinister phase of the race problem. As I have shown, we have the two elements of conflict: instinctive race repulsion and competitive jealousy. What is easier for the race in power, the white race in this country (the yellow race in Asia) than to play upon race instinct in order to serve selfish ends? How shrewdly the labour union, whether in San Francisco or Atlanta, seizes upon that race hatred to keep the black or yellow man out of the union and thereby control all the work for its members! Race prejudice played upon becomes a tool in clinching the power of the labour monopoly. How the politician in the South excites race hatred in order that he may be elected to office!...

In several places in this country Negroes have been driven out by mobs--not because they were criminal, or because they were bad citizens, but because they were going into the grocery and drug business, they were becoming doctors, dentists, and the like, and taking away the trade of their white competitors. So the stores and restaurants of highly efficient Japanese were wrecked in San Francisco....

We come now, having considered the political and industrial relationships of the races, to the most difficult and perplexing of all the phases of the Negro question--that of social contact. Political and industrial relationships are more or less outward, but social contact turns upon the delicate and deep questions of home life, personal inclinations, and of privileges rather than rights. It is always in the relationships of oldest developments, like those that cling around the home, that human nature is slowest to change. Indeed, much of the complexity of the Negro problem has arisen from a confusion in people's minds between rights and privileges.

Everyone recalls the excitement caused--it became almost a national issue--when President Roosevelt invited Booker T.

> Washington to luncheon at the White House. Well, that feeling is deep in the South, as deep almost as human nature. Many Northern people who go South to live come to share it; indeed, it is the gravest question in ethics to decide at what point natural instincts should be curbed.
>
> Social contact is a privilege, not a right; it is not a subject for legislation or for any other sort of force....
>
> As for the Jim Crow laws in the South, many of them, at least, are at present necessary to avoid the danger of classes between the ignorant of both race. They are the inevitable scaffolding of progress. As a matter of fact, the Negro has profited in one way by such laws. For the white man has thus driven the Negros together, forced ability to find its outlet in racial leadership, and by his severity produced a spirit of self-reliance which would not otherwise have existed....
>
> As in the case of the Jim Crow laws, separate schools in the South are necessary, and in one way I believe them to be of great advantage to the Negroes themselves. In Northern cities like Indianapolis and New York, where there are no separation laws of any kind, separate schools have appeared, naturally and quietly, in districts where the Negro population is dense. That the pupils in each should be treated with exact justice in the matter of expenditures by the state is axiomatic. And the Negro boy should have the same unbounded opportunity for any sort of education he is capable of using as the white boy; nothing less will suffice....
>
> Whether we like it or not the whole nation (indeed, the whole world) is tied by unbreakable bonds to its Negroes, its Chinamen, its slum-dwellers, its thieves, its murderers, its prostitutes. We cannot elevate ourselves by driving them back either with hatred or violence or neglect; but only by bringing them forward: by service. ("Following the color line", R.S. Baker, 1904. Cited in Current and Goodwin, pp. 574-76)

Internationally, war broke out between Russia and Japan in 1904, and American imperialism brought the Dominican Republic under United States influence as a protectorate. For the citizens of Gordonville plunging into the twentieth century, these international events were not as visible as the goings on at home, which are described by I.S. Sink (1976) below:

In 1904, the office of City Engineer was created. Its first accomplishment was to design a sewer system for the City. It was completed in 1906, and it made Gordonville the first Fourth Class City in Midwest State to have its own disposal system.

The sidewalks were boardwalks, built and maintained by the property owners in the 1890's. In the years following, a program for building sidewalks was promoted and the construction of both sidewalks and streets progressed rapidly during the next ten years.

Prior to 1905, the "bucket brigade" was in existence to control fires. The Gordonville Volunteer Fire Department was created, by ordinance, in that year and the first Fire Chief was named.

Twenty-three volunteers where chosen as active members by a committee that had been appointed by the Mayor. Because there was no fire house until 1916, the reel and one-thousand feet of hose were kept in the rear of the blacksmith's shop at the rate of $1.00 per month. The men were alerted for duty by blasts from the whistle at the railroad station, followed by the ringing of the church bells, and by 1909, they were paid as a group $28.00 for each fire that they attended. Two hundred and fifty additional feet of hose were purchased in 1911, at a cost of $195.00, to supplement the hose that had been purchased originally.

In this year of 1905, the City granted the County Gas Company the right to erect and maintain the necessary apparatus and appliances for furnishing public and private gas lighting and heating.

The first jail was "portable" and the jail yard property was leased from the Railroad at a rate of $20.00 per year. The first permanent facility for prisoners was in the Hauser building. It was located near the blacksmith's shop and under the Gordonville post office. The telephone operators would signal the Marshal when he was needed by turning on a light that was located on the top of the telephone building.

John B. Quigley became Gordonville's first Justice of the Peace. He was a veteran of the Civil War and had taken part in twenty important battles between 1861 and 1865. After being elected to the State Senate in 1890, and serving for two years, he moved to Gordonville. He served our city for the next fourteen years, until his retirement in 1914, and was the city treasurer in 1911. (1976, pp. 14-15)

In 1905 the community at Killian Station reached a peak in development and then began a gradual decline brought about by the sale of Miles Thyme's photographic process factory. A local newspaper told of the circumstances of this transaction, and some of the effects for Milford's neighbor:

> In 1905, shrewd George Eastman, determined to create an empire --not just a business--bought the rights to the Thyme process along with many others across the country. He promptly moved most of the workers to his own headquarters in Rochester, New York.
>
> The plant went through incarnations as an oilcloth manufacturer and X-ray plate maker before being finally lost to fire. Like the Killian mansion before it, the Thyme home was torn down as well. And all that remains of an era are the company-built bungalows and the Thyme estate's carriage house, which has become the symbol of the Killian Station Historical Society.

In the same era, the congregation at the Carlton Methodist Church experienced first a growth spurt, and then fell upon hard times, as few of the new residents at Pleasant Hill joined the church, and older members such as Dr. John Grant passed away. The church history tells of these difficult times in the early 1900's and some of the changes in the 50 year old church:

> In 1905, the church decided to undertake a program of alteration and redecorating. The old slave gallery at the west end of the building was removed. Two small vestibule rooms were formed on the west end of the auditorium and opened into the auditorium proper with folding doors. The two large stoves were removed and a hot air furnace installed by digging a partial basement under the church.
>
> Dr. John Grant, who had taken such a prominent part in the church affairs for nearly a half century, died in 1906. Thomas Vicker, a farmer living in the area, was elected leader of the congregation to succeed Grant, and a brave effort was made to push ahead. But the time was not yet ripe.

> During the next 15 years the fortunes of Carlton suffered a sharp decline...It was a period of retrogression. The area was still decidedly rural. The older families who had played a prominent part in the life and development of the church were dying out or had moved from the area. The newer residents had not yet become a part of the institution or failed to take an active part in the work of the church.
> (pp. 11-12)

The automobile was becoming an increasingly common sight in the early 1900's. A modern day journalist reflects colorfully on the early impact of the motor car in Metropolitan City:

> While the early automobile enjoyed popularity among a limited number of progressive Metropolitan Citians, it was considered an out-right muisance by many neigh-sayers. They didn't like their horses being driven buggy by the clattering, whirring, grinding, chugging, sputtering, coughing, spitting, and honking of the newfangled machines....
>
> In the fall of 1902, one pioneer motorist was nearly lynched after an incident over which he had no control. The Auto Club was holding its first annual 25-mile run on a September day...
>
> Along the route, a mischievous boy poked a stick through the wheel spokes of one of the cars while it was in motion. The youngster was knocked for a loop. His father and some angry spectators mobbed the innocent motorist.
>
> There were many other clashes between pioneer motorists and Metropolitan City's anti-auto crowd up to the '30s. In fact, farmers and suburbanites formed vigilante units to stop automobile traffic. Their shotguns became the area's first stop signs.
>
> Residents of a fashionable area in midtown were particularly peeved when their street was paved. In the summer of 1903, drivers turned that stretch of street into the city's first drag strip on record. The noisy auto races convinced the residents that the road to hell was paved.
>
> The Police Chief's hands were cuffed in 1904. Metropolitan City was achieving a worldwide reputation as a progressive city, so Chief Kelly didn't want to impose an unprogressive ban on the city's 600 automobiles. But public pressure forced the chief to put into effect a speed limit of eight miles per hour.
> (Metro Gazette, 8/13/82)

The automobile was to effect the building of new roads throughout Suburban County, as well as to require improvements on those which had existed for the transport of horse-drawn vehicles. In 1908 the latest innovation in the improvement of roadways was the use of oil, which a writer of this era described:

> Increasing use of motor-propelled vehicles calls for a different method of treatment from that previously used upon roads in the normal traffic of the past.
>
> The problem before the people not only involves a consideration of the best methods of road building, but what is more important, the maintenance of the many miles of highway which have been constructed at an enormous cost. The main point at issue is the best method of abating the dust nuisance, and if the protective covering can be made to adhere to the road, not only is the highway more enduring and better adapted to resist the stresses of traffic, but all users of the road are directly benefited. It is necessary to have a certain amount of dust on the road because of its value as a protector, but there can be too much loose material. If this is the case, mud will be created when the streets are watered or wet with rain. Yet it is evident that unless the road is wet the dust will be taken up by the wind. It would seem, therefore, that the road wear could be greatly reduced if some means could be devised of keeping the road surface intact. Watering the streets is the method which prevails in many localities, but this is not as practical or economical as by some of the newer methods of dust laying, in which oil plays an important part.
>
> Watering is an expensive proposition, however, and while it was of some value before the advantages of oil were known, at the present time there is no reason for its use. During a warm day the water will evaporate rapidly; in fact, several hours after it is applied the street is dry and dust is blowing about in much the same way as before the passage of the watering cart. On the other hand, a proper application of oil insures a dustless surface for several months. If compared only on the basis of cost, the use of oil is more economical and it is advanced by those who know that oil at the same time cost would be infinitely preferable to water.
>
> A competent authority has estimated that it costs $6 to water a mile of highway twice a day. This would mean an expenditure of about $900 during the course of the year in this section of the country. It would be necessary to water the roads for about 150 days in the year. During the winter season, or when

> wet weather prevailed, this treatment would be obviously inconsistent. Considering the cost of oil at 4 cents per gallon, and assuming that 2,500 gallons (a very liberal estimate), would cover one mile of highway twice a year, the entire expense of maintaining a dustless surface for the same period as stated above would not exceed $125, including the expense of applying the material. The cost of oiling is therefore but 15 per cent of that of watering, and an ideal, dustless surface is obtained, especially adapted to all forms of vehicular traffic.
>
> Summarizing the advantages of the oil treatment of roads: its permanency insures an exemption from dust on dry days, sure to arise within a few hours after watering. It is certain that the use of oil compounds has contributed to the maintenance of public health, while diseases of the throat, eyes and lungs have materially decreased in sections where the dust is eliminated by proper oil treatment. Then one must consider the personal comfort and cleanliness of the homes of those living on dustless streets.
>
> Oil-treated roads do not need the frequent repairs and attention given untreated ways because a uniform surface is maintained better and the loss of road material by wind or rain is obviously lessened. One feature does not seem to have been touched upon, and yet it is important, especially to motorists. The relief afforded the eyes by the light brown aspect of the treated road, when contrasted to the glare which oppresses the sight when the sunlight is brightly reflected by the white dusty road, must be apparent to all, whether on foot or traveling by vehicle.
>
> Oil for road surfaces has, thus, these advantages: Cheaper as to maintenance, increased use of the road due to lessened amount of repair work necessary, improved public health, more beneficial to the eyesight of those obliged to travel in summer, greater safety from superior surface in both wet and dry weather, entire elimination of dust discomforts, absence of mud in wet weather, quickness with which the work may be done, the whole combining to make the process not alone desirable but from the viewpoint of economy, the best yet.
> (Thomas, 1911, pp. 236-7)

By 1909 more important changes had occurred in the Milford community. Both the Marquette and Spiral Hill Schools, built in the 1870's, had been replaced by new structures, each located on the opposite side of the road of its original locations. Several minor roads were built branching from the main thoroughfares on the Marquette side of what would become the Milford District 40 years later. A 1909 plat book shows a dozen homes at the cross-roads of Richmond and Donnelly along with a general store, saloon, smith shop and a farmers' club. All but the lattermost of these establishments have long since disappeared. Hunstein (1946) credits the automobile as the prime mover in the establisment of Milford's first true subdivision:

> The first true suburban residential nucleus was at the intersection of Richmond Road and Donnelly Road. This subdivision was plotted in 1909 and the homes built soon thereafter. The impetus to suburban residential occupance was the introduction of new means of transportation....The advent of the automobile revolutionalized settlement in Marquette Valley by offering a speedy means of transportation to the city.
>
> By the time the automobile came into general use there were many roads throughout the valley. In fact, there were no new major roads built during this stage but certain secondary roads were built and all roads were improved, many of them made into surfaced, all-weather roads. There was a mutual cause and effect factor between the automobile and the roads. The surfaced roads led to wide use of the automobile, and the use of the automobile led to the improvement of the roads. (p. 63)

To the west in the Spiral Hill District, the Chester farm in 1909 was about a fourth of its original 2300 acres, much of it being sold after the death of J.R. Chester in 1887. And while Frank Roberts Chester was head of the household, several ancillary roads were built off the Carlton Road near the Chester home to provide access to the new landowners. The Grant property, just north of the Chesters, also underwent subdivision. However, the Grant property was deeded to family members, presumabley in accordance with the last wishes of Dr. John Grant. A little further north lay the company town of Pleasant Hill which Hunstein describes in the following:

> The first residential area to develop within Marquette Valley was Pleasant Hill. Although this was not a true suburban development, it was an important beginning in the suburban movement. The homes at Pleasant Hill were built to house the workers of the Building Materials Company which had been organized in 1902. The sloping terrace south of the plant and east of the quarry provided a favorable site for homes. Many small frame, one and two story houses, and a few brick flats were constructed, and a small community grew on this site. In 1904, there were 15 or 20 families residing there and by 1939 there were over 100 families. (p. 64)

In 1909 Milford was a transitional blend of general and intensive agriculture, heavy manufacturing, and suburbanization. On the national level, Roosevelt's personal friend and Secretary of War, William H. Taft, handily defeated William Jennings Bryant in his third bid for the presidency. 1909 was also an important year for Black Americans. Bloody race riots the preceeding year in Springfield, Illinois on the centennial celebration of Lincoln's birth, provided the impetus for the formation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Under the leadership of Harvard educated Dr. William E. DuBois, the NAACP was to become the first effective nationwide organization to champion the cause of racial equity. It would take 45 years before the first major impact of this organization's legal challenges to discrimination would be experienced by the residents of Milford.

A decade into the twentieth century, we are provided with some important glimpses into the nature of education in Suburban County, due to the scholarly attention given the subject by Thomas (1911):

> The scholastic scheme which underlies education generally in Midwest State and most, if not all, of these United states, accords to each state and to each county in each state the duty of managing its own educational affairs. While the general features of the various systems show considerable similarity, they differ somewhat in the details. All of the

states provide by law for the free instruction of all persons of school age. There is a division of action, if not of opinion, regarding the limit to which the state or the county can go with reference to compelling the children to accept this priceless gift of education. The compulsory attendance law (we note in the report of the County Superintendent) "is a dead letter in a number of our school districts, no attempt being made to enforce it." The right and duty of the county should be recognized, as far as our school officials are a part of our county government, and all of the districts should emulate the progressive boards which employ truant officers to enforce attendance. The supervision and control of the educational interests of the county are vested in our county superintendent, to whom the various school districts report, in same manner as he is required to report to the state superintendent, the length of the school year in each district, number enrolled, number attending, success of methods employed, and, in general, the condition of the public schools under his supervision. All of this information ultimately comes back to the people through state publications. As it is with the state, which is divided into counties for purposes of local government, so are the counties, with the same end in view, divided into districts, in each of which a school (in some, more than one) is maintained, governed by officers who look after the school's interests in every way, and who consult with and report all matters of educational interest to the county commissioner or superintendent. When all of this machinery is working properly, as it pleases us to say, it does in Suburban County, we are rewarded for our outlay in money and time and work with model school houses and appliances, a superior selection of text books and construction of courses of study, better discipline, more capable teachers, and, in short, with the best results available in our system of public instruction. The system outlined compels local responsibility under the watchful eye of the state. This is the condition of affairs in Suburban County today, a condition that affords citizens cause for self-gratulation, when they compare our modern advantages with the hardships many of themselves endured in the days of the Old Blue Spelling Book and the little Red School House that is now become merely a significant figure of speech in almost all of the school districts in Suburban County. There are some of the remote school houses that still are like those described in the pages that precede, but it is safe to say that nine-tenths of them conform to all that belongs to schools--in buildings and methods of instruction--of the Twentieth Century standard.

The school enrollment in Suburban County is 12,940, divided as follows:

White--	
Male	6,185
Female	5,985
Total	12,170
Colored--	
Male	364
Female	406
Total	770

> Number of school houses in the county, 133, divided into 114 houses for white, 19 for colored, children. Number of rooms, 315 for white, 24 for colored, making a total of 339 rooms.
>
> The length of school term is settled each year by a vote of the school patrons in each school district. It speaks well for the intelligence and the public-spirited liberality involved in the eighty-nine schools of the county, that the vote in April, 1910, showed that eighty-eight provided for eight months or more of school, one voted for six months, and there were none that wanted less than a six months' term.
>
> Suburban County paid for teachers' wages last year a total amount of $202,209.66. Of this the men got $44,440.93, and the women, $157,769.73. The average salary of the male teacher was $83.51; of the female, $59.60; general average, $69.82. (p. 119-120)

In 1910, large districts with elementary and secondary programs were administered by six director boards. Such governance applied to Milford's neighbors Gordonville, Killian Station, and Gentle Valley. These comprehensive schools were rated and classified according to the criteria Thomas describes:

> The public high schools of the county are subject to classification into first, second, and third class high schools by the state superintendent. Those of the first class are required to maintain a four years' course of standard work in English, mathematics, science, and history for a term of at least nine months in the year, and must employ the entire time of at least three approved teachers in high school work; those of the second class are required to maintain a similar course of studies during a three years' course of nine months in the year, employing the entire time of at least two approved teachers in high school work; and those of the third class are

> required to maintain a two years' course in the branches of study suggested above for a term of at least eight months in the year, employing the time of at least one approved teacher in high school work. Pupils completing the course in high schools that fulfil these provisions are given full credit in requirements for entrance to and classification in any educational institution supported in whole or in part by state appropriations.
>
> There are in Suburban County six high schools fulfilling all the requirements of the accredited four years' course; high schools of the first class, as defined in the preceding paragraph.
>
> There are five others doing one or two years' courses of high school work at various points in the smaller towns of the county. A more extended mention will be found in the remarks to be found descriptive of these centers of population in another part of this work. The public high school merits public esteem and is gaining in the affections of our county people most rapidly, as the advantages it offers to our young people are placed in comparison with the poverty of mental equipment that handicapped their fathers and mothers. (1911, pp. 120-1)

The Gordonville School Disrict was one of six in the county meriting the first class rating. Thomas offers this brief description of the Gordonville High School:

> Educated and well-trained teachers are rapidly becoming the rule in Suburban County, and especially so in our cities, towns, and villages. In the past three years Gordonville has made important additions to her school facilities. The city is in the enjoyment of the most advanced methods in education, possessing a four-years' course accredited high school, which is housed in a splendid ten-room brick, which provides also for the courses of study in all the grades from the primary to the eighth, inclusive. Fourteen teachers are employed, under the supervision of Mr. W. W. Fagan. The building occupies a commanding location, being elevated and in the center of capacious grounds, and is a matter of great and constantly growing pride to the Gordonville people. (1911,p. 242)

In 1911, Gordonville was apparently operating a segregated school system, for the list of 14 teachers contains one woman with a parenthetical note "colored".

The public school at Killian Station was not rated first class, but nonetheless drew favorable comment by Thomas, as indicated in the following description:

> The Killian Station public school is located close to the Metropolitan City and even where everything else is equal this close touch with a great city, of which it feels itself to be a part, gives an added impetus to the growth of a school so situated. In Killian Station are the homes of a number of the best known business men of Metropolitan City, and of course they give some of their activities to the educational, social, and artistic interests of the educational institution that is surrounded by their beautiful and cultured suburban homes. The Killian Station school has an enrollment of 254 and employes six teachers. The text-books used are the same as those used in the Metropolitan City schools. Music, drawing, physical culture, and manual training are parts of eight years needed to complete the grade work. (1911, p. 121)

Smaller districts in the County without high school programs were designated "rural schools". Marquette and Spiral Hill were two of 75 districts so classified. These rural schools were governed by a three director board of education, and accredited by the Midwest State Superintendent of Schools. A classification system applied to the rural schools, and Thomas (1911) tells of the criteria that had the Spiral Hill District rated "first class" in 1910:

> In order to gain the rank of a first-class rural school, as regards school buildings, apparatus, equipment, grounds, and outbuildings, course of study and organization, the state superintendent ruled that the average in the examination should be at least 80 percent. The former State Superintendent sent first grade certificates last November to the Spiral Hill school and several more are assured of these rewards of merit, before the school year ends, as we learn from the County Superintendent to whom we are under obligation for the facts herein given...It should be stated this very onerous position is an elective office, with a four years' term attached and the superintendent is elected at the annual school district meetings held the first Tuesday in April. (pp. 120-1)

Students attending Marquette or Spiral Hill who desired a diploma after 8th grade, or who wished to be admitted to a high school were required to pass an examination administered by the County Superintendent of Schools. The recollections of one of Franzwa's (1977) interviewees from a neighborhing school district in this era are probably typical of the experiences of students at Marquette and Spiral Hill as well:

> "My sister wanted one thing before she left, and that was to see me get a diploma," said Mrs. Tiggeman. I had been over to neighboring communities a few times, and we went to New Mannheim once a year. But the day Kate took me to the County Seat for my examination--well, I'll never forget it."
>
> In those days all the eighth grade graduates in Suburban County who wanted diplomas had to be tested by the county superintendent at County Seat High School.
>
> "There were all those big high school kids in the same room with us country kids. They put all our questions on the big blackboard and we took most of the day to answer them. I came home and shortly thereafter my sister left for Indianapolis.
>
> We used to get the old County Journal in those days, and that is how I learned about my graduation. My kid brother got the mail one Saturday morning and came yelling into the house: 'Miel, Miel--you graduated!" And there was my name on page one, along with all the other kids who passed. That's how I found out.
>
> Then I got a postcard from the Superintendent, saying my diploma was in County Seat and I could come and get it or send the postage....A few weeks later it came to me in a mailing tube...I still have it--tube and all. (pp. 38-9)

The growth and development of Suburban County in the second decade of the 1900's prompted the drafting of legislation to consolidate the 90 school districts of Suburuban County into a single district. Thomas describes the reasoning behind this proposed legislation, and the negative reaction it received by members of local school boards:

> In January, 1911, the school patrons were greatly exorcised in mind by a rumor that a bill providing for the consolidation of the ninety school districts of the county into one school district was being prepared for submission to the Legislature. The report was found to be based on fact and the authors of the proposed bill were citizens interested in the betterment of our schools. The bill (which, by the way, was not introduced) provided for a bipartisan school board to consist of twelve members, which would have control over all affairs of the schools. It privileged pupils to attend any school in the county without the payment of tuition. It gave the Juvenile Court control over delinquents in the schools and provided truant officers in the various districts. It provided uniformity in the course of study, and sought to equalize taxation. The proposition excited great interest and provoked speedy action.
>
> One of the bill's sponsors explained with great minuteness of detail the merits of the bill as he saw them. He stated that ...taxation would be evened up, resulting in a equality in the tax levy to not exceed a fifty cent tax all around. This would also equalize privileges and ultimately give the county more and better schools and stimulate the development of facilities for and diffusion of the higher education as the sparsely settled districts became more thickly populated.
>
> A very ernest, but in the main, good natured, discussion followed....after which the following resolution was passed:
>
> We, the representatives of school boards of Suburban County, do not favor the bill providing for the consolidation of county schools, as we do not think the time for such a measure is yet ripe, and we therefore pray that it be not introduced in the General Assembly.
>
> Then the meeting, by a rising vote, declared its appreciation of the efforts in working for the good of the county's schools and, believing in the ability, honesty and sincerity of the framers of the bill (which was never presented to the General Assembly), and that its opponents are equally able, honest and sincere, we put this historically useful item on the file for future reference. (pp. 130-1)

In Metropolitan City, a notable contemporary educational event was the appointment of Benjamin Caldwell, founder of the now defunct Finishing School at Killian Station, as the Superintendent of Schools in

Metropolitan City. In the same era, U.S. interest in a shipping route through Central America had Nicaragua added to the list of American protectorates during president Taft's administration.

The innauguration of Woodrow Wilson in 1912 marked the first time since 1848 that a southerner had been elected to the presidency. In Gordonville that same year, a city ordinance was passed that levied a tax on motor vehicles, set a speed limit, and required a license plate to be displayed on all such vehicles.

During Wilson's second year in office, the 16th and 17th ammendments to the constitution were passed. The former enabled congress to levy an income tax. The latter provided for the direct election of senators, replacing the practice of appointment of senators by state legislatures.

In 1914 progressivism was at its peak, and the most fervently agitated issues of the day included women's suffrage, temperance, regulation of big business, child labor, and worker safety. These domestic issues were inlaid with an increasingly turbulent international context. While there was much fanfare surrounding the completion of the Panama Canal in 1914, the bullyish tactics employed by Roosevelt to acquire the Canal Zone 11 years earlier left considerable resentment among nations in Central and South America. The installation of a revolutionary government in Mexico resulted in president Wilson's sending the U.S. Navy to Mexico and seizing the city of Vera Cruz in order to block arms shipments to the new government. All out war with Mexico was narrowly averted when Argentina, Brazil, and Chile intervened to mediate the dispute. Tensions between the U.S. and Mexico, however, did not subside. Nor did U.S. interests in the Carribean. In 1915 the island of Haiti became a U.S. protectorate. This latest acquisition surely seemed trivial when contrasted with the sinking of the Lusitania and the looming spector of multi-national conflict. Wilson was re-elected in 1916 largely because of his ability to avoid entering the war in Europe. All of this, however, was to change in 1917 after U.S. merchant ships were torpedoed by German U-boats, and it was discovered that Germany was attempting to forge an alliance with Mexico. Wilson's declaration of war against Germany was presented to congress, and is excerpted below in part:

> The present German submarine warfare against commerce is a warfare against mankind. It is a war against all nations. American ships have been sunk, American lives taken in ways which it has stirred us very deeply to learn of, but the ships and people of other neutral and friendly nations have been sunk and overwhelmed in the waters in the same way. There has been no discrimination. The challenge is to all mankind. Each nation must decide for itself how it will meet it. The choice we make for ourselves must be made with a moderation of counsel and a temperateness of judgment befitting our character and our motives as a nation.
>
> We must put excited feeling away. Our motive will not be revenge or the victorious assertion of the physical might of the nation, but only the vindication of right, of human right, of which we are only a single champion....
>
> Armed neutrality, it now appears, is impracticable. Because submarines are in effect outlaws when used as the German submarines have been used against merchant shipping, it is impossible to defend ships against their attacks as the law of nations has assumed that merchantmen would defend themselves against privateers or cruisers, visible craft giving chase upon the open sea. It is common prudence in such circumstances, grim necessity indeed, to endeavor to destroy them before they have shown their own intention. They must be dealt with upon sight, if dealt with at all.

The German Government denies the right of neutrals to use arms at all within the areas of the sea which it has prescribed.... Armed neutrality is ineffectual enough at best; in such circumstances and in the face of such pretensions it is worse than ineffectual; it is likely only to produce what it was meant to prevent; it is practically certain to draw us into the war without either the rights or the effectiveness of belligerents....

With a profound sense of the solemn and even tragical character of step I am taking and of the grave responsibilities which it involves, but in unhesitating obedience to what I deem my constitutional duty, I advise that Congress declare the recent course of the Imperial German Government to be, in fact, nothing less than war against the government and people of the United States; that it formally accept the status of belligerent which has thus been thrust upon it; and that it take immediate steps not only to put the country in a more thorough state of defense but also to exert all its power and employ all its resources to bring the Government of the German Empire to terms and end the war....

Our object now....is to vindicate the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world as against selfish and autocratic power and to set up amongst the really free and self-governed peoples of the world such a concert of purpose and of action as will henceforth ensure the observance of those principles....

We are glad,...to fight thus for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples, the German peoples included: for the rights of nations great and small and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and of obedience. The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of nations can make them....

It is a fearful thing to lead this great peaceful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance. But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts, for democracy for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free. To such a

> task we can dedicate our lives and our fortunes, everything that we are and everything that we have, with the pride of those who know that the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave birth and happiness and the peach which she has treasured. God helping her, she can do no other.
> (Cited in Current and Goodwin, pp. 612-13)

The Selective Service Act of 1917 added nearly 3 million soldiers to the million who had already volunteered. On the home front, Wilson enlisted industry, labor, railroads, farmers, and housewives in support of the war effort. Abroad, more than a few men from around Milford were among the "dough boys" who turned the tied of war at Chateau-Thierry and Verdun in 1918. Surely some of the thousands of Americans who lost their lives in Europe left behind survivors in and around the Spiral Hill and Marquette Schools before an armistice was declared in November of 1918. The terms of the German surrender were negotiated in 1919 as the Treaty of Versailles.

As servicemen returned home, and industry retooled for peacetime production, the 18th and 19th amendments to the constitution were ratified by the states. The former prohibited the manufacture, sale and distribution of intoxicating beverages. The latter granted women the right to vote, and tacitly acknowledged the immportant roles performed by women at home and abroad in the war effort.

Our reference to "Milford" before World War I has been prompted by convenience rather than historical accuracy. Lest we may have caused some confusion, the name Milford was first used by a real estate developer in 1917 in the sale of a 500 acre parcel of land about a mile south of Pleasant Hill. Sales of hundreds of homeless lots boomed right after the war as a bulging population of nearly three quarters of a million in Metropolitan City was eager to put the life of war time scarcity behind. The characteristics of the newly subdivided Milford Village, as it was pitched by developers to prospective buyers, survives in this sales brochure of 1919:

> A little more than two years ago Milford....was a wilderness peopled by squatters. In that brief period it has been developed into the most attractive suburban section in Suburban County.
>
> The whole tract has been cleared and beautified. It has been laid out in the most up-to-date fashion. Beautiful winding roadways have been built throughout. City water laid to all parts. Ninety percent of the lots have been sold. One hundred families have obtained delightful homes, and, despite the uncertain market of materials, a decided home-building boom is under way.
>
> No spot in Suburban County ever saw such rapid development and additional attractive features are being added to the section.
>
> Do you want in on this Bonanza?
>
> If you do you must act at once.
>
> The price of any lot remaining unsold October 8th will be raised 10 percent on that date. Prices are shown on plat inside.
>
> TERMS: $25 down and $10 per month. No taxes or interest for one year. Title Perfect. Ten percent discount for all cash. Liberty Bonds accepted at par.
>
> STREET CARS: Take City car, changing to Municipal Line at New Mannheim, direct to Milford. The fare on the Municipal Line, 25 cents for 8 rides, makes a total fare of 9 cents. Schedule time from Milford downtown, 45 minutes.
>
> Salesmen on grounds all the time. Go out at once, or 'Phone SA 1645 for appointment.

These advertisements also contain some photogrpahs of Milford Village in 1919. Shown in Figure 11 are the Township Line Road, and one of its offshoots entering Milford Village a mile south of Grant Road.

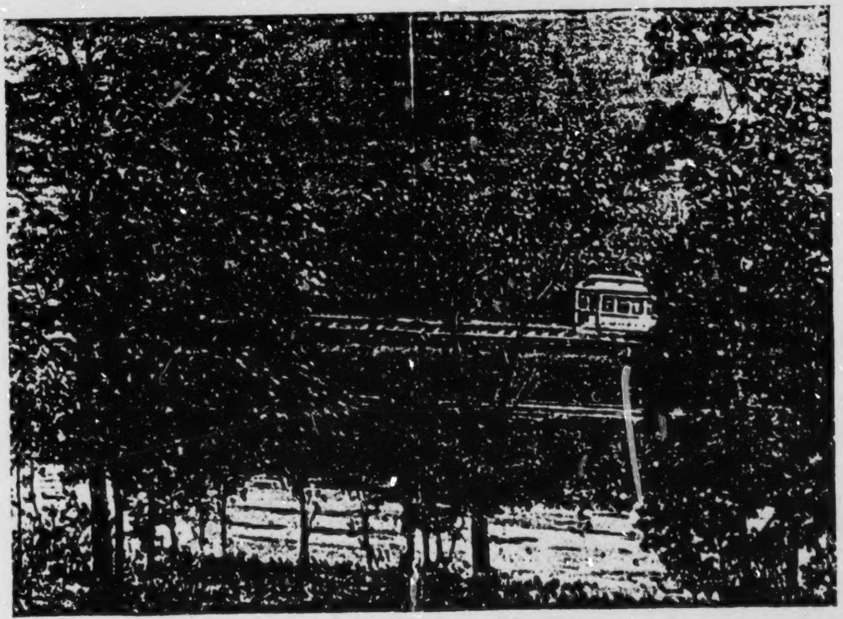
Insert Figure 11 about here

One of the first to build a home in Milford Village was a 28 year old man named F.K. Tholozan, whose bungalow approaching completion in 1919 is shown as Figure 12 below, along with several other homes of this era.

Insert Figure 12 about here

Mr. Tholozan supplied us with these sales brochures as well as many recollections of early Milford Village. Nearing age 90, Tholozan and his wife welcomed us into their home and shared with us some of the following memories:

> Mr. T: That ended in 1918 and I come out here about a year before that--I had a little motor cycle or motor wheel on my bicycle and I rode from there out....and that's when I bought my property--I bought one lot and then later on I bought three more. (8-6-81)
>
> Mr. T: Yeah--well first of all, I'll tell you this--I came out into Milford Village--I moved out here on January the 3rd, 1919, and that was the days when we didn't have any transportation--we got here on the streetcar and the Power Plant Railway.
>
> Obs: Power Plant Railway?--I have not heard of that one.
>
> Mr. T: Yeah, that was 8 tickets for a quarter and there on the streetcar was 7¢ if I remember correctly at that time and we started, you might say, from the ground up--all we had was a 2" water main in the streets and cinder roads.
>
> Obs: So nothing was paved at that time.
>
> Mr. T: Nothing was paved at that time. We didn't have any electric, we had to come out to outside toilets and we had come out to coal oil lamps and gasoline stoves in the summer time.



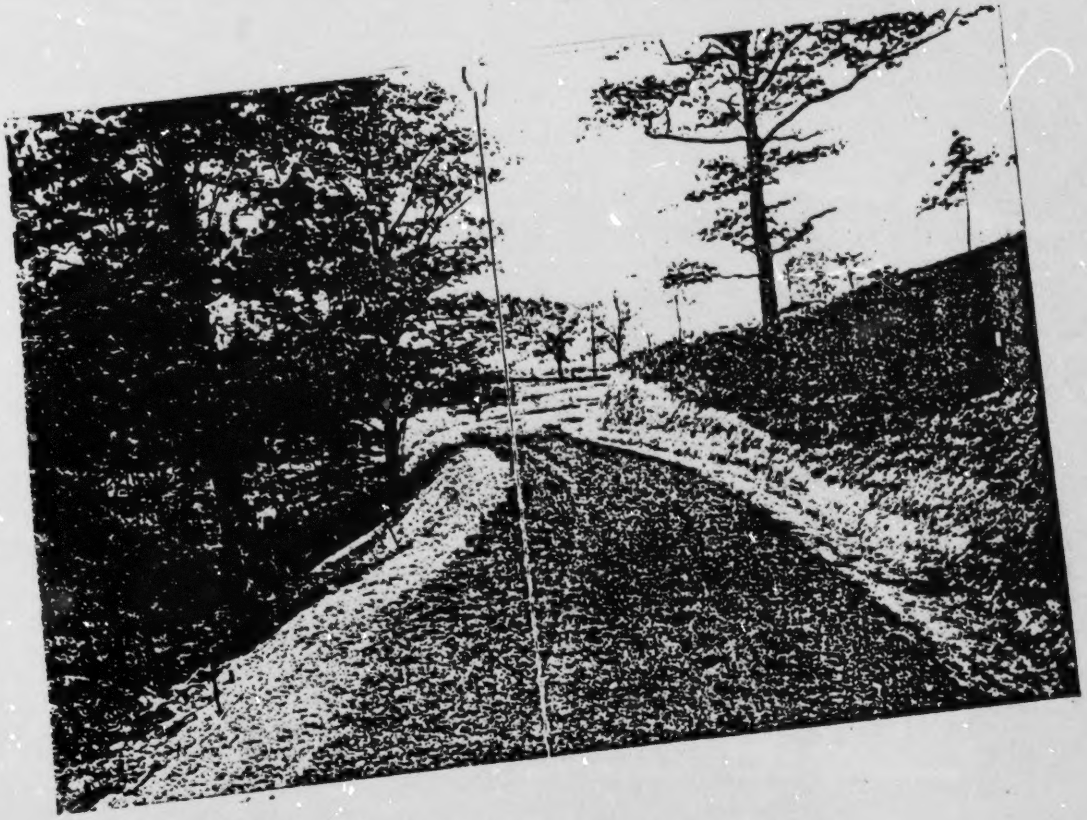
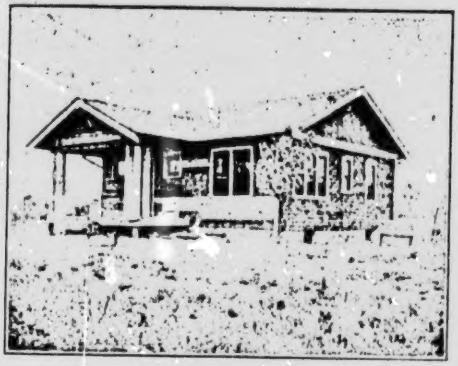
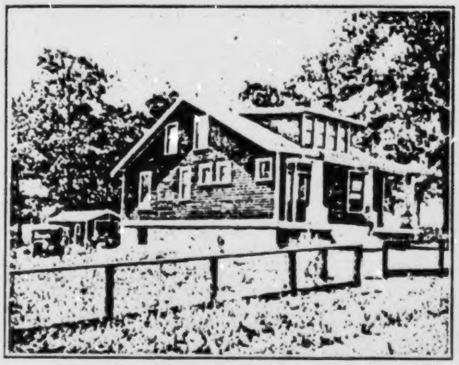


Figure 11: Two of Milford's Roads in 1919.
Above is the Township Line Road and the Power Plant Street Car Line and below, the Village Road leading into Milford Village.

SOME OF
THE PRETTY
HOMES





A BUILDING
BOOM IS
NOW ON

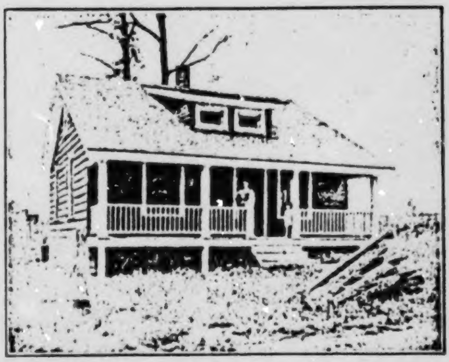


Figure 12: The home of F.K. Tholozan, above, and some of his neighbors, below, in Milford Village in 1919.

Mrs. Tholozan, who has lived in Milford as long as her husband, added these remarks about the development of a segregated community:

> Mrs. T: And when she come out here, there was--like I say--this Chester home up here on Carlton Road, nothing else, and then there was two families that lived in the light houses out on the river--that was it--now there was a couple colored families that lived over in Milford in like little shacks like--they--right after Mr. T. come out here by, Mr. Bachman is the name of the gentleman that surveyed and laid out the land over there and he chased the two colored families to Pleasant Hill.
>
> Obs: And that's where they've been consolidated, down there at that point--were there other families, black families, in this area at all?
>
> Mrs. T: No, just a couple of families like I say and it was many, many years before any blacks got into here at all, we--in fact we don't have nobody around here except one family right across the street over there, you wouldn't even know they were there, they want to mind their business--you know what I mean, they don't want no trouble.

F.K. Tholozan only lived in Milford Village a short time before helping to organize the Milford Village Improvement Association--MVIA. Roads were a high priority in the growing postwar community, as Mr. Tholozan recalls:

> Mr. T: They used to fire the electric plant with coal and we'd get a car load of cinders and right down a block below Village Drive where we'd come in, there was a switch and we'd switch those cars and then we'd have a fellow by the name of Jimmy Adams, he had a team, he'd bring them cinders up to us. All we had to pay was a dollar for the switching charge for the car load of cinders and we'd pay him about four dollars a day to load the car and bring it up there and then we'd dump that on the streets and then on Sunday we'd get--we'd go around and oh, we'd collect a little money, maybe 50¢ apiece from the neighbors that benefited and then on that Sunday or Saturday afternoon we'd go out and spread them--or you didn't get up to the top of the hill. (8/6/81)

Among the first buildings constructed in Milford Villager was the St. Barbara's Catholic Church, the first built since Carlton Methodist 65 years earlier. The pastor, Father Easton, assumed more than soley a spiritual role in community development. This Catholic priest was also the president of the MVIA. We shall have more to say about Father Easton and St. Barbara's Church in the pages ahead.

It was through his affiliation with the MVIA that Mr. Tholozan became one of the three board members of the Spiral Hill School District in 1920. Tholozan explains:

> Mr. T: So we organized the Milford Village Improvement Association and after that was organized then the next thing the school problem came along 'cause people started moving out and they had children. Well, we found out where the school was and Herman Groetsch, he was the school director at that time and he come over to our meeting one night and explained the school and told us that it was Spiral Hill School District #20 and so after that we decided that since we were starting to grow in the community we needed a--we wanted a member on the school board....so the Spring election in 1920 the Improvement Association nominated me to be candidate and filed its candidate for school board and I was elected in April, 1920. (9/30/80)

The layout of the small Spiral Hill School of 1920 was remembered by Tholozan 60 years later:

> Mr. T: When I went on (the board) we had in the school 80 children, we had two rooms, we had 40 children in each room. Well with the increasing number of people coming out here it started to overflow and, in other words, the next year there were about 20 or 30 over so we had $8,000 in the treasury and at that time we had the two rooms and outside toilets, the old toilet, no plumbing and no running water, we had a well outside....And so we got together with the board and we knew we had to build a new room so we built a new room and we had the potbellied stoves, those big pot belly stoves in those two rooms and they had to go out and get a bucket of water and bring it in for the kids to drink water.

> Obs: Can you give me an image if you walked in the door of the school, what would you see? When it was that two room school, what did it look like?
>
> Mr. T: In the front they had a entrance, and two pretty good sized rooms.
>
> Obs: And were the desks in rows? or were they bolted to the floor? or
>
> Mr. T: They were bolted to the floor, they were in rows, there was a regular, what'd I'd say was a regulation school desk at that time....The roof come to a point and right through the middle of these two great big rooms was the great big folding doors, and they--it all depends on when you went in there whether those doors were closed or whether they were opened. (9/30/80)

Mr. Tholozan served with two other men in his first year on the school board. One man named Herman Groetsch was a prominent dairy farmer, and the other was an accountant named James Carr who, like Tholozan, commuted to Metropolitan City. Carr had married one of Dr. John Grant's daughters and lived on a subdivision of the family estate.

The huge migration of Blacks from the rural south after the war brought many into urban areas like Metropolitan City. The work available at the Building Materials Plant and the availability of inexpensive housing drew a dozen or so Black families to the "Hill" section of Pleasant Hill. Whites, also drawn to the jobs at Pleasant Hill, lived in a separate section at the time Tholozan served on the board. In the following, F.K. Tholozan describes the Pleasant Hill community and the conditions that created the Amos Moses School, Spiral Hill's second school:

> Obs: And one of the other stories that was interesting--apparently there was a black or colored community.
>
> Mr. T: Yes, at Pleasant Hill.

Obs: And that was by the Building Materials plant?

Mr. T: It was right across from here to those houses over there.

Obs: Just across the road as it were--now was that community there already when you moved here?

Mr. T: Yeah, there was just one street colored down there.

Obs: And those kids--I saw in the minutes that a school was built and it was the Moses School, was that built when you were...?

Mr. T: Yeah, I helped build the Moses School.

Obs: And what did the kids do before the Moses School?

Mr. T: I don't know 'cause we--just about that time is when we built or when I went on--is when we got the colored problem and we built the Moses School--see, that's 60 years ago.

Obs: Yeah, that's a long time ago--when you say "problem," what kinds of things came up?

Mr. T: Well, they wanted a school so we had to give it to them, that was the law, so we built a one room frame school house, down there on Crandell Avenue.

Mrs. T: There wasn't too many colored families out here and we had that little streetcar, you know, and they used to come from the city out to work at the Building Materials plant and they rode that little streetcar and so there was just a few families.

Obs: That actually lived here?

Mrs. T: That actually lived there--in other words, just about the time Mr. T. got on is when, like he said, they started coming out and living.

In 1921 F.K. Tholozan became president of the Spiral Hill School Board. and he offered these recollections of one of his duties, and some of the ambience of this era:

Mr. T: Mr. Craig (Principal of Spiral Hill School), he lived at the Chester home with the Chesters. I knew those Chesters, I used to visit them, they was great, great grand children I think of the original Elias Chester. See, that house was built in 1812, started, there was labor that built the bricks right on the place...we have a fellow, let's see, what was his name--we had one boy now, try to think of his name--he was from Pleasant Hill--Pat Berra--his dad was a very good friend of mine--he was from (the White section of) Pleasant Hill--he was one of my supporters that would always go out and help me get elected....Anyway, this Pat Berra, he lived in Pleasant Hill, and those children always used to have to walk down Carlton Road because they'd take the railroad tracks to go down Pleasant Hill and he'd pick on some of the younger kids. Oh, I guess he maybe was about 11 or 12 years old, maybe 13, he'd pick on them, he'd throw rocks at them you know, and hurt a couple of kids and the people went through school and reported it to the principal, and

Obs: Was that when Mr. Craig was principal?

Mr. T: He was principal--and he said--so he called him in and he told him about it and he says, "Now that's got to stop." But it didn't stop--he got more reports. "Well, what are you going to do about it and they--going to the board with it if you don't do something about it?" So after this he got a stick and let him have it, he took him and wacked him on--boy, he was a little bit too unreasonable--I admit that. Anyway, that night--didn't have no electric at that time--I was out in my chicken house with my lantern and so I heard somebody talking to my wife and she sent them out to the chicken house, there I had my lantern and here was Pat with his other son, his older son, and he says, "Tholozan, I got a complaint to make." He says, "Roy Craig, the principal, beat the daylights out of my boy today." He says, "Look" and he took his pants down and boy, he did have a few welts on him. Well, that happens when you can take a whip of rawhide and you cut--you will make a welt. I did that with horses already, you take a whip and you hit, it don't hurt, it just stings for a minute but see, it will raise a welt on a horse's back and it just made a stripe there--he didn't bleed or anything but it was red. There was about four stripes down on his thighs and he says, "Look what he did to my boy!" You see, he says, "We're going over there to see Craig," and he says, "we're goin' kill him." This one fellow says he had a knife in his hand about that long and I says, "Now Berra, use some judgment," I says, "Here's what happened," I says, "Your boy is a bad boy and it's up to you as his father to straighten him out." Now, I says, "We can't have people going up to the school complaining to the principal that you're boy is throwing rocks and injuring the children, they won't stand for it," and I said, "That's what he was doing," and I said, "Craig warned him but it didn't do any good." Well, he said, "He should have come and told me." And I says, "Well, possibly he could have done that but," I says, "sometimes when they go to your house," I had that trouble, I went to his house with a girl one day and that guy nearly beat me up by going to his house, see--

> Obs. Parent of one of the school kids?
>
> Mr. T: Yeah, one of--it was a girl--she was a rotten kid and I went to him and he told me, he says, "By god," he says, "you get out of here or I'll beat the hell out of you.", and I says, "You can't do that," I says, "That's what we got the school for," I says, "He could have wrote you--or written--you a letter and called you to school," but I says, "Pat was a bad boy," I says, "he was warned and he got a whipping." And I says, "I'll admit from the looks of the marks on it that it might have been a little bit too severe. I'm going over and see Craig and tell him that possibly he was a little bit too severe." But I says, "I'm not going to criticize him for it because it's up to him to maintain discipline." And I says, "He tried to do it in the right way but that didn't do it so he had to go the other way." And I says, "If you go over there now and kill him or beat him up or cut him, you're just in serious trouble because," I says, "I'm a witness against you because you threatened him, see, but I'm going over and talk to him." And I says, "Now what are you going to do about it?" He turned to his boy and he says, "Now listen Pat," he says, "I'm going to take you hom and," he says, "you go to school and behave yourself." He says, "And I don't want to have any more trouble out of you." And by golly you know, after that, that kid got to be one of my best friends and I hired him down at the car company later on and he got to be a good friend of Craig's. (9/30/80)

In 1923, electricity and telephone service were hooked up in Milford Village, as Tholozan continued serving a series of one year terms on the School Board while maintaining his involvement with the MVIA.

While considering the year 1923, we must momentarily travel east to Gordonville to begin a story line that will continue more than forty years later inside the Kensington School. In 1923 a 20 year old woman named Irma Henley accepted a teaching position at the Gordonville School. We had the opportunity to talk with the woman who later married the son of Gordonville's pioneer businessman, Frederick Hauser and, at the time we talked to her, had lived in this suburban city for more than 55 years. Irma Henley Hauser offered these memories of her coming to Gordonville:

Mrs. H: And I shall never forget my coming up here. I got two offers. I was wanting to teach, needing to teach....

And, I had a brother who was living in Metropolitan City with his wife, and they were the only ones who had ever heard of Gordonville. But it paid $6 more a month than the other offer....

I was 20 years old....

I had never heard of the place of Gordonville.

Obs: How did they get your name?

Mrs. H: I got it through a teachers' agency. I had enrolled with them....

The population had increased in Gordonville until they had to add a portable building they had built outside the main building. And I had fourth and fifth grade in my little section because the other rooms were closed. There were two rooms in the portable--and the girl who taught the other had seventh and eigth grade. And we were roommates. We boarded up here, on West Lane....Just about a half block from the school. And we had a lot of fun together. I--and then I was allowed to go into the main building the next year.

Obs: Your seniority of one year.

Mrs. H: Uh-huh, and I taught fourth grade, then fifth grade, and then sixth grade. W. W. Fagan was our superintendent and he was a gentleman and a scholar. There is a public school named for him now. He was a charming man, just lovely. If I hadn't had such good principals and superintendents all of the time, I think I wouldn't have liked it so much....

And the year I came, all the grades who were in all of the high school were in the same building. That was Gordonville School....

And I hadn't had much college. In those days you could teach with a 30 hour certificate. And that's exactly what I did. I had been reared in the southwest corner of Midwest State and had my thirty hours there at Southwest Teachers, it was then.

Obs: That must have been a real interesting problem for, you know, a young girl, young woman of 20, to, you know--you said a minimum of college kind of preparation and a new town, new community--

Mrs. H: You just can't imagine how green I was. But I didn't lack confidence. I always wished I had the confidence in myself in later years that I had when I was starting.

> Obs: Did you stay at that school then for a number of years?
>
> Mrs. H: I stayed ten years. The last two years I was married and taught until my first child was on the way. And then I quit teaching and until he was a senior in high school. (It was) about 18 years that I didn't teach. (9/29/79)

We shall continue our conversation with Irma Hauser in the early 1950's. Back in Milford Village, all of the lots were sold by the early 1920's, and houses of all sizes and designs sprang up throughout the decade. One of the buildings constructed in this period was the new St. Barbara's Catholic School built by Father Easton and many parishioners. By 1925 the number of school aged children had increased to the point where additional facilities were required in the public schools. The prospects for continued growth had the board proposing to reclassify the rural Spiral Hill district as a consolidated school district governed by six directors. In the April elections, the voters approved the plan for reorganization. Unbeknownst to the community, the name Spiral Hill was changed to Milford Village by Tholozan in the filing for reclassification with the State Department of Education. To the east, the Marquette District retained its rural classification. The little cross-roads community at Richmond and Donnelly became known as Marquette Heights, though little construction had occurred over the years.

A quarter of a century after the Building Materials Plant opened in Milford, two new plants began production in Pleasant Hill. Hunstein (1946) describes these additions to Milford's industrial base:

> In 1927 there were two new companies organized at the Pleasant Hill area, marking the beginning of a new stage, that of light manufacturing. In June of 1927, the plant which is now the M.K. Company, manufacturers of asbestos products, was completed. It was located directly northeast of the Building

> Materials Company, just across the North and South Railroad tracks. In September of 1927 the plant...operated by the Seville Company, was completed. This plant also engaged in the manufacture of asbestos products. It was located directly north of the Building Materials Plant, bordering along Township Line Road.
>
> The localization factor in both cases was the proximity to the Building Materials Plant. Asbestos products are composed largely of other materials to which is added small amounts of asbestos....For this reason an asbestos products manufacturer will be greatly influenced, in locating a plant, by a source of needed materials, products used by these asbestos companies is shipped directly to the plants by rail, or, as in the case of the M.K. Company, conveyed directly from the Building Materials Plant. The asbestos used in these plants is imported from Canadian and Russian deposits. The small amount needed and its high value and light weight makes this possible.
>
> The asbestos companies acquired their land from the Building Materials Company, which still owns much of the land, adjacent to the plants. The land was sold at a reduced price since it was advantageous to have these large users of building products located nearby. The Building Materials Company is thereby assured of a certain volume of sales, and the asbestos companies can save on transportation costs.
>
> These plants were the only light manufacturers in Marquette Valley for many years, and even today constitute the whole western light manufacturing nucleus. (1946, pp. 65-7)

1927 was also F. K. Tholozan's last year with the school board. In this year the voters finally approved a $44,000 bond issue after a number of unsucessful attempts. Construction of high school facilities began soon afterwards. Over the next four years, four brick classrooms were built onto the old two room frame nucleus. It was our good luck to locate a couple more oldtimers who were freshmen when the high school program began in 1927. These two graduates of the Class of '31, Carl Elbrecht and Cliff Simmons, help us to construct some images of the Milford Village School and community in the late 1920's.

Mr. Craig was principal when Elbrecht and Simmons started at Milford Village. Their memories of a stern principal are coupled with some others suggesting that Craig was also a thoughtful civic leader who enjoyed kids:

> Simmons: ....this one fellow's brother that I got into a fight with--he used to come there when we'd have plays at the school or some kind of a get together and they'd maybe have a dance and they'd get a little too much to drink--that was during Prohibition--and his brother--he never did go to school there I don't think--not that I know of anyway--and Mr. Craig got into it with him--he got him down and beat his head on the sidewalk there for awhile and no one thought anything about it--we didn't have a big hassle--you didn't call out the riot squad or anything.
>
> Elbrecht: Nobody got sued or anything like that.
>
> Simmons: No, just "I should have kept my nose clean," or "I should have stayed away" is what you thought if you got beat, you know, and that's just the way it went.
>
> Obs: Well, was Mr. Craig a big guy or was he a pugnacious kind of a guy?
>
> Elbrecht: No
>
> Simmons: He was a stocky sort of a fellow but he wasn't unusually big.
>
> Elbrecht: And he wasn't pugnacious as I--he was our--he was very nice--he was my Scout leader for awhile....And he had a little Star Coupe and he would load oh, as many as ten kids on that thing, I mean, the inside would be full, the trunk would be full and then they'd be hanging on the outside--and then he'd take us out swimming to Cold Springs.

In 1928, Mr. Craig left the Milford Village School District and the board appointed its first superintendent, a woman named Claire Briggs. Like Mr. Craig, Briggs administered and taught in the Milford Village School. Briggs also had in common with Craig a strict attitude towards discipline, as her former students attested:

> Simmons: She was from Kentucky, but she didn't tolerate much foolishness and the pupil had to be bigger than she was if she wasn't going to lay him out, I mean, like I say, she was typical Kentucky....Physically, oh no, she didn't tolerate any foolishness there, she believed in corporal punishment, yeah, I guess capital too, you know, but she--some of those kids there--she'd just take them and wallop them good, you know and ....Oh, I guess a strap or stick or whatever came--maybe her hand too--she was kind of a husky built type woman and she just didn't tolerate any foolishness, that's all and she had our respect too because she had a little black book, remember the black book? Any time something didn't go to suit, you know, in the drawer, now whether it was for psychological reasons or what, but out would come that black book and you could hear a pin drop in the room then see, we were in high school and but whenever she said "frog," we'd jump--we learned to respect her and there was some people maybe didn't see eye to eye with one another you know, among the teachers there, well, this is always--one teacher might think the other teacher is going out of her way doing something that shouldn't be or should be, you know how that goes, and we were no exception in that respect but she was...the principal and the high school teacher at that time. Taught everything, she taught Latin, she taught math, taught until, you know, the high school went into another room and then we got other teachers and then we'd go from one room to another afterwards when we moved into the brick school and one teacher would teach us Latin and another one would teach us math, general math we'd have.

As Simmons continued his recollections of Mrs. Briggs, the topic of prohibition came up in a round about way:

> Simmons: She was typical Kentucky though--I remember one play we had in here and I brought my father's revolver from home, we had to use it in a play, and my wife used it.... Anyway, she spotted me....and oh, she just, her eyes lit up real quick and she grabbed it from me and she broke it open real quick--she knew how to handle it, you know, and she said, "Where did you get that," and I said, "Oh, I brought that for the play," you know, and she said, "You want to watch yourself about that." So--but she told us--they must have had some property in the hills (of Kentucky) there because she spoke of having found stills on their property, you know, it was during the bootleg days....we also had them (stills) right there by the school (Spiral Hill) there--there was always a fire at Gallo's....they had a fire every now and then--the place would burn-- they'd hide it in the manure pile and stacks--whiskey and what not. They'd ("revenuers") fly over in a dirigible, you know, and they would look with their binoculars, you know, they had an idea....

Elbrecht and Simmons gave high marks to the education they received at Milford Village School:

> Elbrecht: Actually, we had the basics that we could get into college if we wished to go, as I recall and that--at that time, most colleges required two years of a foreign language and two years of math and two years of science, well, we had all of that plus we had four years of English, we had two or three years of history, and I believe we had a course in civics. That's probably in our junior year, a course in civics.
>
> Obs: So there would be some social studies, some---
>
> Elbrecht: Some social studies and then our senior year, then we had our biology and English and commercial law and commercial arithmatic I believe and one other course, probably in social studies of some kind. We had a fairly good curriculum I would say for that type of school, you know, from coming from scratch.
>
> Obs: It sounded like most of the teachers were pretty able people.
>
> Elbrecht: They were, I would say, yeah, they were able....I think the whole point of the situation is that I feel from--I've put a couple of kids through high school and college and that--I feel we've got an excellent education in spite of the fact that conditions were rather primitive.

Besides the formal curriculum, our two graduates of the Class of '31 also benefited from the extra-curriculum, which they described in the specifics of a musical:

> Elbrecht: I remember we needed a drummer and one of the teachers came in and she said, "Do we have a drummer?" and Charlie nudged me and said, "Tell her you're a drummer," and I said, "I'm a drummer," and I couldn't--I had never even handled a drum stick. So a couple of times at noon, Charlie took me up in the room and Charlie showed me how to keep the beat and well, that--sometimes I didn't do too well and she (teacher) tapped me on the head--"You're a drummer?"
>
> Simmons: Yeah, it was--like I say, the whole thing was always a family affair--we had some of the lower grades that--there weren't enough in our class to fill out roles and so we had to use part of the other classes....

> Elbrecht: Well, I mean, we were so short of help that, I guess you'd call it help, that I could never sing, you know, and the farthest from my mind was singing and I had to sing a solo in that Gypsy Rover I think, you know, it was kind of embarassing for me, I'd say but--
>
> Simmons: Well, an interesting thing was in that one operetta they do it in, I guess in movies and whatnot there, the one girl was supposed to sing a solo and she couldn't sing...
>
> Elbrecht: We put on a play every year I believe.
>
> Simmons: That's right, yeah, we had one every year--the first year was the "Ghost of Little Mary"....
>
> Elbrecht: Then we had "Gypsy Rose" or "Sweetheart" or--no, we just didn't have the personnel for that--nothing in the arts--now we didn't even have a music teacher but Simmons had taken music lessons and he was an excellent piano player--we had one fellow who was good on the sax and that was our band essentially.

When principal Craig left, Elbrecht and Simmons were left without a Boy Scout leader. Mr. Carr, former Spiral Hill school board member, took over the duties of scout master and provided Elbrecht and Simmons with some unforgettable experiences they shared with us:

> Elbrecht: Right, yeah, that was a stimulating experience, I mean, he broadened our minds that there was a lot of other things in the world, you know, than just this little community and he recommended books that we read, you know, and things like that. Just to give you a for instance, I remember when the Scout troup met up in the old church yard one Halloween night, with tombstones all around, and he had a flashlight and he read the book, "The Hounds of Baskerville" which was quite an experience, you know, and he read that to us out there in the church yard. I mean that was the type of thing that he would do and then in Sunday School class, maybe we would discuss a book like "Beau Geste" or something like that or we'd discuss philosophy or government. I mean, there were a whole gamut of civilization, I mean, was sort of--he would draw us out--what did we think or so on and so forth. It was so much more than just a cut and dry Sunday School class, you know. I think he figured if we wanted religion we could get that in the church....That's what he was intent on and I know I have some very good friends from the little select group that I was with and we are all most appreciative--what he did for us.... Oh, he had a nice library--very substantial--in

fact, I used to borrow books from--he had a tennis court up there--that's where I learned to play tennis--but other than that, why any books that the teachers had, they were privately owned and maybe they would bring them to school.

Simmons: "Ivanhoe" was another one that was on our reading list--we had to go to the library to get those--those two I remember--they stand out and some of the others--I forget what they were--they were on the reading list.

Elbrecht: Yes, that even started before the high school. He had become Scout Master when Mr. Craig left--there was a group of us that were in the Scouts and then he was a tennis player and he had a tennis court at his place which was next to the Grant's.

Simmons: See, his wife was a Grant.

Elbrecht: Right, Cora Grant, and so that--I learned to play tennis there--he was quite a player and he taught the boys around--those that were interested in tennis--and we'd gather there every weekend on Sunday and we'd play all day long there and we would take care of the court then, we'd roll it and then we'd mark it and so on and patch the fence if it needed patching and so on--

Obs: But you'd known him through Scouts and then through the tennis and you mentioned that you'd borrowed books from him on occasion.

Simmons: He was on the school board too.

Elbrecht: He was on the school board yeah, I borrowed books from him--he was, I guess, one of the most well educated men out here--he was a CPA....Yeah, I would say that Mr. Carr made a tremendous difference in the education of not only some of us that went to the high school but to the young men in general in the community. It seems to me that anyone that he came in contact with he left his mark and not one--we were talking about it some time ago, a few of us got together, not one of the young men that he had been in contact with ever got into any trouble and they all seemed to prosper. He was quite an individual, now, he also was interested in sports and he sort of sponsored the baseball teams out here and of course, he got a bunch of us interested in tennis, he was an avid ice skater and in the winter time he'd teach us how to skate and he was a good figure skater and he taught us figure skating and things like that and reading--he was a Sunday School teacher also and he wouldn't just--I don't think we ever cracked the Bible in his class but we talked about literature and philosophy and things of that nature and he really broadened us, I mean, you know, in fact, knowing him and being with him was a bit of a liberal education in itself and

> something that I value very highly. I mean, I feel that I almost got as much education in contact with him as I did going to high school.
>
> Obs: Yeah, well, that was sort of the implication I was drawing and that's why I was curious about that. Did he have kids of his own?
>
> Elbrecht: No, he had no children of his own and just to show you how well thought of he was in the--I mean, if you want to continue in that vein--how well thought of he was in the community, some years after I had gotten out of college, some of us got togother and we said, well look, Mr. Carr is getting up in years, we really ought to show in some way our appreciation for what he had done and we gave a dinner up at the Carlton Methodist Church where he was active and I guess there must have been 50 or 60 boys that he had contacted through the years either through athletics or through the tennis or through the school, through Sunday School, and we got together and gave a very nice dinner. I happened to be toast master of the thing and each boy got up and had a little something to say about how Mr. Carr had affected his life or some experience he had, you know, and it was just a great thing, a sort of a spontaneous thing, you know. So I would say, he had quite an effect on the lives of many of the young people in the area.

Among the recollections our oldtimers offered, some contained dimensions of social class and community structure. On the wealthy extreme were families like the Chesters and Grants, which are remembered as follows:

> Elbrecht: I do recall that the Grants, there were two girls left at home after Cora married Mr. Carr and they were what you'd call the blue stocking people of the community, I mean, they had the education, they had gone to Eastern schools and had traveled, they had been to England and France, you know, made the grand tours as you say, and they sort of endeavored to give us a bit of culture, so to speak.
>
> Obs: With a capital C.
>
> Elbrecht: Right, both through the school and through the church up here where they were active and I remember, I believe they gave us in our junior or senior year or whatever, they gave us a party over there at the big mansion--very nice, I mean, gosh, they had a lot of antiques and everything around there but a very nice party and I know they were both very active in music up at the church and there again, your old English tradition, you know, of singing ballads and things of

> that nature, but they were both very musically inclined--they had apparently been trained in their Eastern colleges, went to girls schools up there I imagine and then I remember being taken through the Chester home too when we were in high school and we met the old gentleman who was the grandson of the old General Chester who built the mansion in 1812 and who had been the Commandant at Fort Carlton and as I recall it, even in those days, he was pretty old, I mean, he couldn't really get up from his chair but he was still living then and then his son's daughters, they in turn were underclassmates at Milford as I recall.
>
> Obs: But they went through school here and then went on east or where ever?
>
> Elbrecht: Right, they went through high school here and then they--where they went to school after that I don't know--they could have gone to City University or I don't think they went to Midwest State or they might have probably went to some private school out in the east because there again, it was your blue stocking family, the Chester family....I was just conscious of that (social class) out in the community. Now of course, that isn't really true any more but that was the point I was getting at that when I mentioned that the Chesters and the Grants ran their estates like the old English estates, you know, here was the people in the manor and then the tenant farmers and so on and as I say, they were the educated class out here, I mean. none of the other farmers and that, they had their eighth grade education but that was about the size of it so--

On the other extreme were the poor and minorities who lived in Pleasant Hill near the Building Materials Plant. As Elbrecht and Simmons continued their description of early modern Milford, they explained how geography, culture, and property ownership limited interaction between Milford Village and its neighbor a mile to the south:

> Obs: Another thing that I've read about in the Board minutes and so on is that there was a Black school over on Pleasant Hill-- Moses School--can you tell me anything about that school or did you have any contact with the kids or the teachers or--?
>
> Elbrecht: No contact at all but Simmons living over that way might know a little more about it.

Simmons: The--well, the only thing I knew--that was their school and they went there and they moved it a time or two--see, the building is still there, they use it for something else now....But there was like a fence also there and there was a hill--you went over it--and it seemed like it was another area altogether and you just--they--Blacks--would come into the store there sometime--in the day time but never at night--you never saw them in there at night--that was another thing--

Elbrecht: They had their own little community there in Pleasant Hill which was next to the Building Materials Plant.

Obs: Was that dating back to the Civil War--you mentioned that some of the big farms that people, the Chesters and so on, had slaves and so on--would they be descendent of that group or do you have any notion where they came from?

Simmons: The Blacks you mean?

Obs: Yeah

Simmons: That I don't know--I mean, it would be hard to say because they lived--Pleasant Hill had their share of Blacks in there and it was kind of a melting pot, they had Mexicans and in fact it was a kind of rough place--every Saturday night there was always some kind of a cutting or shooting or something.

Elbrecht: But it's very possible that what you mentioned--the slaves after the Civil War--maybe they gravitated over that way too 'cause that Building Materials Plant's been there a long, long, long time.

Obs: That community was there as long as you guys can remember?

Simmons: Oh yeah, Pleasant Hill--in fact, at the railroad station the train would make a stop there at one time--there was a railroad station there at one time--North and South passenger--and there were colored out in West Township there--there's a cemetary of them out there.

Elbrecht: Yeah, there was a few of them out there.

Simmons: They could have gone back to the Civil War days 'cause I know my father-in-law spoke of them you know, when he was a young man, that they were there and my mother-in-law remembers the families there.

The White community at Pleasant Hill had considerably more interaction with Milford Village than the Black community. The school system enhanced this by permitting White participation on the Board of Education, and allowing White children from Pleasant Hill to attend Milford Village School. The Black community in the late 1920's was very isolated from the rest of the district. A small Baptist Church and the Moses "colored" school were the nucleus of the Black community at Pleasant Hill. If, upon graduation from the Moses School, a Black youngster wished to go on to high school, that pupil was not permitted to attend at Milford Village, but rather, would need to travel by streetcar or train into Metropolitan City to attend an all Black High School. It is highly unlikely that any Black students in the Milford Village School District enjoyed the kind of enriching experiences which Elbrecht and Simmons have referred to with such pillars of the community as Mr. Carr.

The 1920's brought a wave of prosperity to the nation along with many significant shifts in lifestyle and values. Business flourished under the laissez faire policies of Harding and Coolidge. At the same time, however, the strength of the labor unions declined, and the farmer sank into debt because of reduced foreign markets. Many industries reached new heights in efficiency of production. The Ford Motor Company, for example, reduced the price of an automobile from over $2.000 in 1907 to under $300 in 1924. It is little wonder that by 1928 there were 26,000,000 autos in the U.S. Many residents of Metropolitan City and its suburban environs made their livelihood in the auto plants. One of Hoover's campaign slogans of 1929 promised "Two cars in every garage". Besides innovation and ingenuity, the "hands off" policies toward business also resulted in scandal and corruption. The dealings of the Standard Oil Company stand out among the worse abuses growing from the friendly relations between business and government. Prohibition is another major theme which dominated the 1920's and gave rise to small scale bootlegging as our old timers have described, as well as organized crime in many major American cities.

The immigrant population had been changing for several decades before the 1920's. In the late 1800's the immigrants were overwhelmingly from northern and western Europe. After the turn of the century, immigrants were predominantly of southern and eastern European extraction. In the 1920's the Ku Klux Klan had mustered considerable support in its campaign of fear and violence against immigrants as well as Blacks, Catholics and Jews. In the mid 1920's legislation was passed which reduced immigration to only 15% of its previous levels. Quotas were placed on all ethnic groups, and the Japanese joined the Chinese as totally excluded groups. In the selection of immigrants, literacy tests continued to serve as a sorting tool, as they had since 1917.

While the trend in foreign policy was toward pre-Wilsonian isolationism, United States foreign policy in the Carribean had Coolidge sending in 5,000 marines into Nicaragua at the outbreak of civil war. The relations between the United States and Mexico, never really healed from the days before the World War, were once again strained as the two neighbors backed rival factions in Nicaragua. Military conflict between Mexico and the United States was averted only by skillful dialogue-based diplomacy.

Through the 1920's there was enormous speculation and a prevalence of unsound practices in the stock market. Billions of dollars were invested in stocks purchased "on margin". Many moderate income families were lured by the accelerating values of securities, and gambled their life savings on the chance of striking it rich. When the market began to weaken in September of 1929, a landslide of selling drove the bottom out of the market, and resulted in the loss of $30 billion by November.

We use the stock market crash of 1929 as the ending point for this chapter on the beginnings of modern Milford. In the next chapter we will continue this chronicle of the Milford community through the lean times of the depression, World War II, and on through to 1980. So that we may later appreciate the magnitude of community change in the decades ahead, we conclude this chapter with a map of Milford as it had evolved in 1929. We display this as Figure 13.

Insert Figure 13 about here

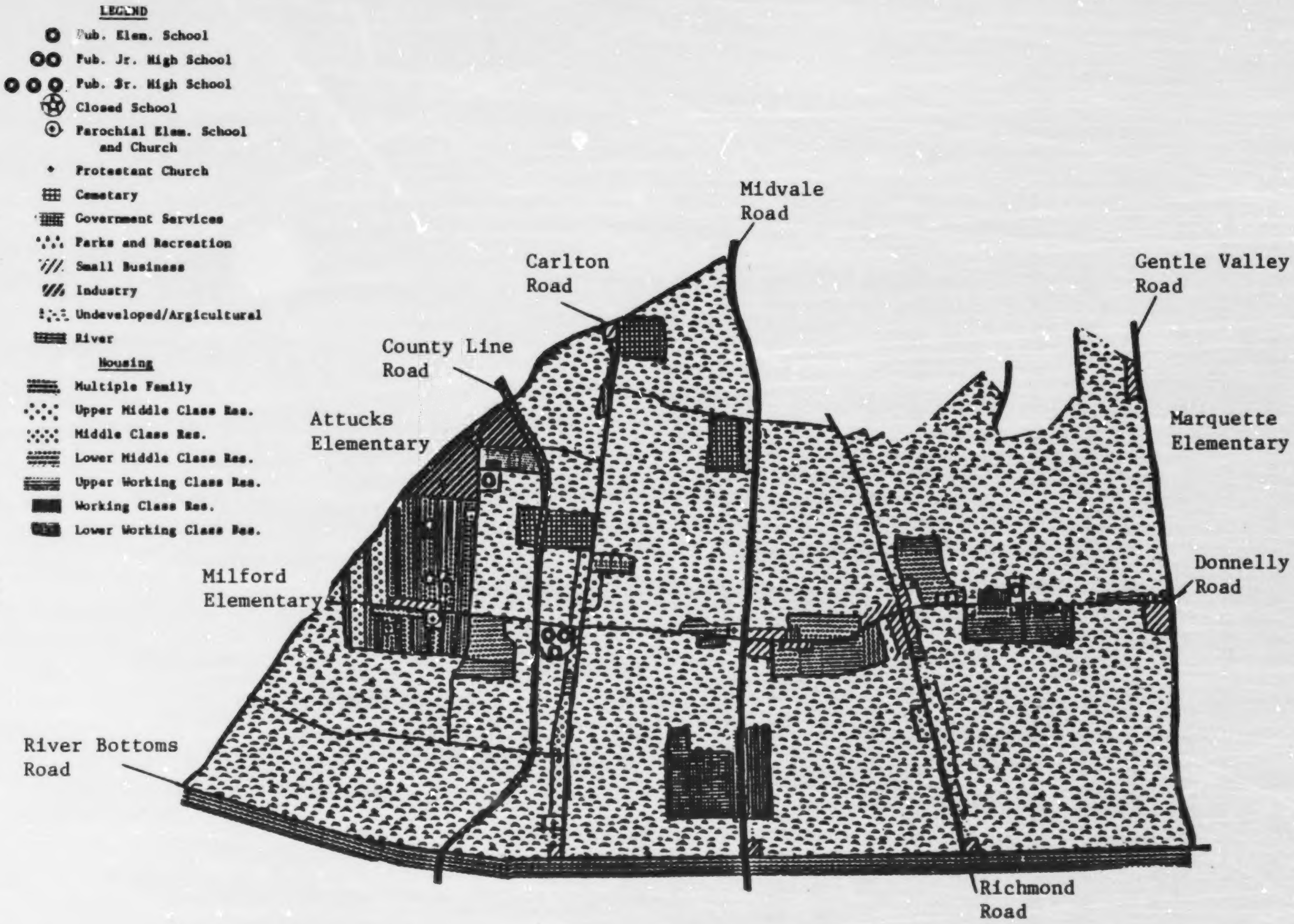

LEGEND
Pub. Elem. School
Pub. Jr. High School
Pub. Sr. High School
Closed School
Parochial Elem. School and Church
Protestant Church
Cemetary
Government Services
Parks and Recreation
Small Business
Industry
Undeveloped/Argicultural
River
Housing
Multiple Family
Upper Middle Class Res.
Middle Class Res.
Lower Middle Class Res.
Upper Working Class Res.
Working Class Res.
Lower Working Class Res.
Midvale Road
Carlton Road
Gentle Valley Road
County Line Road
Attucks Elementary
Marquette Elementary
Donnelly Road
Milford Elementary
River Bottoms Road
Richmond Road

Figure 13: The Milford School District in 1929

5. BUST TO BOOM: THE EMERGENCE OF MODERN MILFORD

This chapter continues this narrative of the growth and development of the Milford School District by treating the period of community history between 1930 and 1963. These times were marked by depression, world war, and an enormous post war growth in population, housing and schools. In 1963 Milford had not yet completed construction of its last school, Kensington Elementary. We make this event the starting point for the next chapter.

While images of pre-depression Milford are still fresh, we preview the magnitude of the changes we shall be talking about in this section by displaying as Figure 14 a map of the Milford School District as it had developed by 1963.

Insert Figure 14 about here

During Hoover's administration, the national economy and quality of life continued to decline, and soup lines, street corner vendors, and shanty towns became common sites in the urban areas. While the depression was felt by every community in the nation, many of those living in semi-rural Milford were spared the worst effects, for the truck gardens and "little city farms" supplied the food needs of the community. In 1930, Superintendent Briggs was replaced by a man named Fred Grey, whose

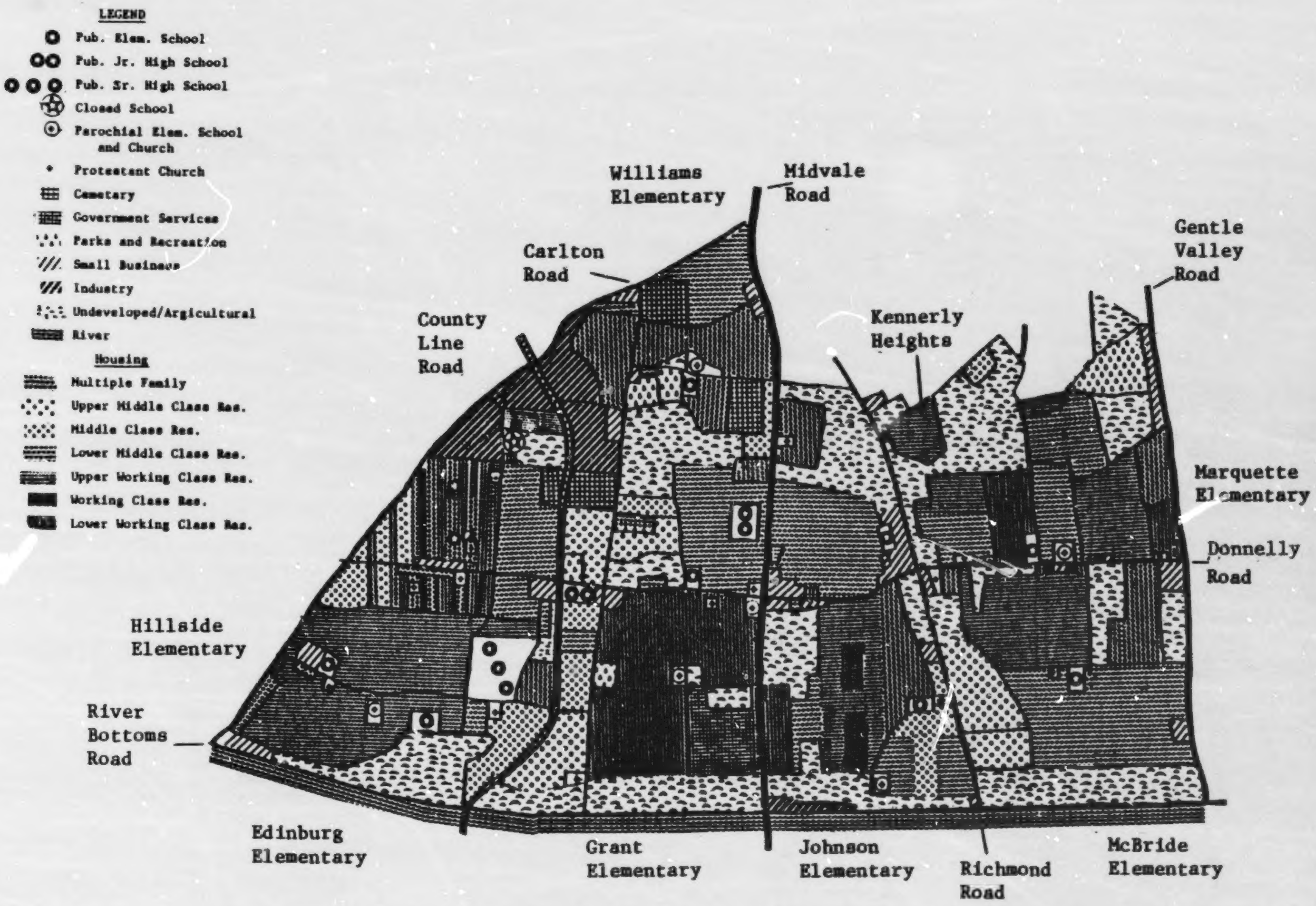

LEGEND
Pub. Elem. School
Pub. Jr. High School
Pub. Sr. High School
Closed School
Parochial Elem. School and Church
Protestant Church
Cemetary
Government Services
Parks and Recreation
Small Business
Industry
Undeveloped/Agricultural
River
Housing
Multiple Family
Upper Middle Class Res.
Middle Class Res.
Lower Middle Class Res.
Upper Working Class Res.
Working Class Res.
Lower Working Class Res.
Williams Elementary
Midvale Road
Carlton Road
Gentle Valley Road
County Line Road
Kennerly Heights
Marquette Elementary
Donnelly Road
Hillside Elementary
River Bottoms Road
Edinburg Elementary
Grant Elementary
Johnson Elementary
Richmond Road
McBride Elementary

Figure 14: The Milford School District in 1963

educational experience had been acquired in the Killian Station School District. Elbrecht remembered the man who also served as principal and private tutor during his senior year:

> Obs: You were mentioning with Mr. Grey, that he taught you typing or something of the sort?
>
> Elbrecht: Yeah, when he found out that I was planning to go to college why, he told me, he said, "You should learn to type," and he said, "We're not giving a course in typing in school but," he said, "I used to teach typing years ago and," he said, "if you'll get an old typewriter at home I'll type out (lessons for you),"....Once a week or so I would go in his office and he would type out a sheet--a finger exercise, just like they do in typing class. Then I would go home and practice that. Then when I got a perfect sheet I'd bring it in to him and then he'd type out another sheet for me and that's how I learned to type and I'm eternally grateful.
>
> Simmons: He helped you.
>
> Elbrecht: Oh yeah, definitely, when I got to college, why that was a necessity so I'm just eternally grateful to him for that. And of course, oh, he died a few years after that, you know.

In 1930, the Milford Village Volunteer Fire Department was formed. Serving as its chief was F. K. Tholozan, former board member of the Spiral Hill School District. A newpaper article appearing locally many years later described this offshoot of the MVIA, as well as the continuing role of Father Easton and St. Barbara's parish:

> When a fire broke out residents would call not the fire department, but St. Barbara's Catholic Church.
>
> Father Joseph G. Easton rang church bells to summon firefighters. Firemen living closest to the engine house revved up the fire truck the men had made themselves and made a straight line for the fire.
>
> Other volunteers grabbed the fire extinguishers hanging in red boxes near their homes and ran to the nearest main intersection where the fire engine would pick them up.

> It may seem an inefficient system today, but "we saved a couple of houses that way," Tholozan said. Besides, the Depression had started and "we weren't working anyway." He added, "We had plenty of time to spend with the fire department."
>
> COST OF FIRE PROTECTION: Just $1.50 a year.
>
> After five years, the fire department modernized, putting a siren on top of the engine house. A wire was strung to the neighboring home of J.C. Dorman, who would push the alarm button when called. (Metro Reporter, 6/16/76)

Social life for many of the men of Milford centered around the Fire House. As Mr. Tholozan told us:

> Mr. T: Oh, they enjoyed that--bunch of fellows--got them away --they'd go up there on a Sunday morning and work on those trucks and have their beer and get away from their women and all that--oh boy, they really enjoyed that.

The social gathering place for many families was the parish hall at St. Barbara's. The Tholozans shared some fond memories about the lighter side of life in Milford in the '30's:

> Mrs. T: See, St. Barbara's was our main good time and church and it was the only thing how, you'd go to church on Sunday and then they'd have doin's on Saturday night. And it was the whole family, they'd go up and they'd have a show of some kind--some times a colored minstrel, you know. At that time you could black your face, you know....My uncle was great at that, he was always one of the black faces and he was really good and after the program was over they'd clear the benches back and put them all along the edge of the wall and the kids would be piled on the benches and sleep and the band would start and they'd dance and have a good time 'til about 12:00 or 1:00 and you'd go home and we had that quite often. That was the entertainment.

Our sampling of the old timers in Milford also included a family which settled in 1928. Mrs. Hilda Neuberg, a 76 year old widow, her son John and grandson Ollie met with us to talk about the old times in

Milford. In discussing the depression, the conversation gradually drifted from the hard times to the good times at St. Barbara's:

> Mrs. N: Well, I'll tell you how we existed. At that time, we had cows and we had chickens, and we had pigs, and we would kill our own, we would kill maybe a steer or somethin'. At that time you could do that you see, yourself, the government didn't have all those--
>
> Grandson: Have all those regulations.
>
> Mrs. N: Have all those regulations, yeah. And so then all we really had to buy was the staple foods you know. And then when it got so bad that the brick layers just didn't have no work at all, you know, and my husband wasn't workin' and we were married not that long that we had a nest egg, you know. At that time we had, let's see, three children and before the depression was over, why we had four. And so there was a grocery store, up on Saphire Drive there, and a we done lot of our shopping there and so he says, "Well, whenever you need somethin' you just come in and get it and I'll put it on the book," you know. So that is what we did, and that is how we got by, you know, because otherwise it was really bad.
>
> Obs: It seems though, that since you had sort of a small farm, that made it a little easier for you than maybe some others.
>
> Mrs. N: Oh, yeah.
>
> Son: Yeah, well, Mom did a lot of baking you know, she baked all the bread and everything. She didn't have to buy that.
>
> Mrs. N: We didn't have no deep freeze or anything to keep the meat, but I would can it, you know. Yeah, the pork, well, I learned that from my mother out in the country, we didn't have no ice box or deep freeze or anything, and the pork, well, the shoulders, pork shoulders and chops and stuff, we would cut it up, put it in the oven and kind of roast em, kind of cook em in there and then take it out of there and put it in them big crocks, and take some lard and put it on, put a layer of lard and let that get hard, and put another layer of meat, layer of lard and just packed it in there like that.
>
> Obs: That kept it?
>
> Mrs. N: That kept it, yeah.
>
> Son: When you wanted some pork chops, you go down there, and you have to, well, sometimes we had link sausage and put it in that lard too, and you know how we make the links up at church

now, well, we wouldn't roll them in pieces, it was just one long rope of it. And we would take it and wind it in there, you know with lard in it. And if you want a piece, you scrape the lard away and pull off a piece, and cut it off, and put the lard back over the top of it, and it would keep it.

Grandson: Those were the good ole days.

Son: We had an old cistern out here that we didn't use, and....my dad had a garden, you know, for just our food, and our potatoes and carrots and celeries and turnips and all that. Why, we used to take them down to store 'em in that cistern. We had a ladder going down in it, and we used to store the vegetables down there, and, you know. Then all the other stuff she'd can, you know, tomatoes and well, we had a big fruit cellar down there, it has shelves from both sides, and we used to have hundreds of jars of stuff there. There is an old cistern out here next to the driveway. The guy next door filled it in with junk, but, well, when we had the volunteer fire department, why, they used to pump out of there and squirt across the street.

Obs: When you first moved into this area, the church must have been sort of a community gathering place.

Mrs. N: For a long time the church hall was the only thing available....

Obs: Back at the church hall when you were a young couple, what sort of things did you do?

Mrs. N: Well, they had a lot of minstrels. Do you know what a minstrel is?

Obs: They would play music and would the people dance?

Mrs. N: And they would dance and play music and--

Grandson: Tell jokes.

Mrs. N: And then they had these shows, and then the school children would have a play you know, and then everybody would go to the school children's play, and different things like that you know. Or else they would have like picnics, we had pretty much ground around there before they built the new school and the new church, you know, that was all empty you know. So once a year they would have a picnic and have all different bandstands built around, and have a merry-go-round and all the different rides and stuff, you know.

Obs: When you first moved here, I guess Prohibition was in effect. Or had it been repealed yet?

> Mrs. N: Oh--
>
> Son: Yeah, it was still in effect.
>
> Obs: Did that have any effect on people's celebration or?
>
> Mrs. N: No, we made our own beer.
>
> Son: Beer, wine.
>
> Mrs. N: We made root beer and wine and yeah, and we even made wiskey.
>
> Son: He is a federal agent mom. (laughs)
>
> Obs: No I'm not, don't believe him.
>
> Mrs. N: Well, there isn't any evidence around here.
>
> Son: But the Roman Club, I don't know if you ever heard of it.
>
> Obs: No, what is that?
>
> Son: Well, that used to be back up here on the hill. That was the Italian, the Ferendetti's, Gallo's, they run that and they used to have a clay mine back there by the railroad tracks, and they used to, you know, have tunnels going back in this clay pit, and that's where their stills were.

The Neubergs also had some memories of the Black community at Pleasant Hill. Unlike Elbrecht and Simmons, who characterized the area as a rough and violent one, Mrs. Neuberg had no reason to be concerned with the isolated community just north of Milford:

> Obs: Do you remember much about this little community of Black people down on Pleasant Hill?
>
> Mrs. N: Well, they were very nice people and they never bothered anybody, you know. And they stayed down where they belonged--you hardly ever saw them around up in this part. And you know, they were people that you could go and ask them if you needed somebody to work for you, you know, or do somethin' for you. You could ask 'em to come and help you, and they would do, you know, what you tell 'em to do. And they did not expect a lot of pay. And we even had a colored man who was the custodian for the St. Barbara's Church for a few years, and he was very nice. So we never had any trouble with them people....

> Son: Yeah, and these colored people down there...weren't trash. They were really, you know, they were Negroes. They weren't "niggers"....But they did a lot of work for the people in Milford...I can't think of his name now, but he used to have a couple teams of mules. He dug a lot of basements for people.

In the broader context of the early thirties, a quarter of the workforce was unemployed, and hundreds of thousands of families faced mortgage foreclosures, and businesses went bankrupt at unprecedented rates. During Franklin Roosevelt's first term in office, prohibition was repealed and the breweries in Metropolitan City returned to production, and the "stills" in Milford shut down. New Deal relief agencies such as the Works Progress Administration, provided jobs for many in the region of Milford, and resulted in significant improvements on the roads in the community. It was in the mid 1930's that the Midvale Road and bridge were built. This new highway became a boundary line between the Milford Village and Marquette School District, and the most important transportation route between Metropolitan City and South County, across the Sauk River. The stretch of Road between Gordonville and Milford's western border had three names over the seven miles in between. From east to west, it was called Donnelly, Chester-Upton, and Grant respectively. WPA work on Milford's principal east-west road had it resurfaced, straightened, and all renamed Donnelly.

The New Deal represented the most pervasive federal involvement in American economic life ever. Legislation such as the National Recovery Act sought to balance labor and management interests. In order to restore public confidence in the economic order and the future for the individual, legislation was enacted to create the Federal Deposit

Insurance Corporation, and Securities and Exchange Commission, and the Social Security System. Some of the farmers and dairymen in Milford were sure to have reduced production in accordance with the Agricultural Adjustment Acts, and were able to avoid foreclosure on their property because of legislation like the Frazier-Lemke Farm Bankruptcy Act. FDR's liberal, some would say "leftish", policies had a lot to do with the strengthening of the labor unions via the National Labor Relations Act. The AFL and CIO gained ascendency in this labor-friendly milieu of the mid 1930's, and were able to wage successful strikes against GM and U.S. Steel within the next couple years.

As the Tholozans continued reminiscing about depression life in Milford, reference is once more made to Father Easton's important role in the community, especially with respect to the less fortunate in Pleasant Hill:

> Mrs. T: Father Easton....was the first priest to come out here. He come here from New Mannheim and he first had a little frame building....that was here even before I come out—that was in--
>
> Mr. T: About 1917-18.
>
> Mrs. T: Yeah, and then he later on built this brick church and the first floor was where we had the recreation, the second floor was church and the upper floor was school....And he used--Father Easton belonged to everything and he worked just like anybody, the fact that he was a priest didn't make no difference. He'll tell ya how he got out and worked to help make roads and everything and he'd collect—we all would, what we called the "poor families"—we were all poor but the poorer poor lived in Pleasant Hill--he'd take up money from everybody and see that they all got a basket of food at Christmas time, he was a real (regular) guy....He'd get out in the yard and dig and carpenter just like anybody else.

Even in the hard times of depression, the Milford Village School District was able to construct its third school, Milford Elementary in the heart of the suburban community. Milford's other White school, formerly housing both elementary and secondary students, became soley a high school. The status of the "colored" school, Moses Elementary, was unchanged. In 1935, the sudden death of Superintendent Grey had the board replacing him with a man named Walter McBride who would serve in this position for nearly 30 years.

In the presidential race of 1936, Roosevelt was re-elected for a second term, capturing all but eight electoral votes from his opponent Alf Landon. Legislation passed in the late thirties included the Fair Labor Standards Act which set minimum wage standards. As agricultural and domestic service were exempted by this Act, many Blacks saw no benefits from this reform. However, for Blacks working in one of the three plants near Pleasant Hill, we presume higher wages were forthcoming. While as a whole Blacks gained less than Whites in the New Deal, important advances were made in housing, union membership and political participation. FDR's popularity among Blacks was so pervasive as to cause a massive shift in political allegiance away from the party of Abraham Lincoln. Black support for Franklin Roosevelt was surely boosted in 1939 when his wife, Eleanor, resigned her membership from the Daughters of the American Revolution when the DAR banned Black soprano Marian Anderson from performing in Constitution Hall. A triumphal recital was held instead in front of the Lincoln memorial.

The New Deal and domestic affairs became increasingly overshadowed by the spector of war. FDR's "Good Neighbor Policy" began in his first term after U.S. troops were withdrawn from Nicaragua after they had successfully suppressed the popular uprising of General A. C. Sandino. Positive U.S. relations were also nurtured with the newly independent government of Canada. Before the end of Roosevelt's first term, Mussolini had invaded Ethiopia, and the Berlin--Rome Axis linked the Italian fascist with his German counterpart, Adolph Hitler. In 1937, as his second term was beginning, FDR's foreign policy of neutrality was tested repeatedly, but Roosevelt was able to keep the country out of war even after Civil War in Spain added Franco to the Hitler--Mussolini alliance. To the far east, Japan invaded Manchuria in the same year. While the U.S. did not enter the war, large increases in defense spending occurred. In 1938, the community in and around Milford found two new defense plants close by. One defense contractor was called Aviation Industries, and was located just a few miles east of Gordonville. The other plant, Dyanamic Electric, was located on Gentle Valley Road, just outside the northeast boundary of the Marquette School. Hunstein (1946) described the beginnings of Dynamic Electric and previews the future impact of this plant on the Milford community in the years ahead:

> The Dynamic Electric Company built a plant in the valley. This was a Hermetic Plant located in the northeast part of the Marquette Valley, at a point where the Railroad tracks intersect Gentle Valley Road. In order to manufacture hermetically sealed products, an air-conditioned plant was needed. The Metropolitan City plant of Dynamic Electric was subjected to the smoke and dirt of the city, necessitating a new location for the manufacture of the new products. After due consideration the company picked Marquette Valley, because of the clear air and the availability of large areas of inexpensive land. With the beginning of the war in 1941, the government built two new plants at this site, plants which were used by Dynamic to manufacture turrets for bombers. Difficulties of supplying labor were of prime importance, so a

> city motor busline was rerouted to the new plants. Recently (April, 1946) the Dynamic Electric Company negotiated with the government to buy their plants, and Dynamic Electric Company will move all of its facilities to this new location. Here they will manufacture all the peace-time Dynamic products.
>
> The site, at the cross-road of motor and rail routes, affords dual transportation; transportation for workers, by means of the highway; and transportation for manufactured goods and raw materials, by either rail or truck.... (1946, pp. 67-8)

Many Milford families would find war time employment at this conveniently located plant.

The decade of the 1940's began with Roosevelt elected to a third term, and saw German conquests in Poland, Denmark, Norway and France. War on Germany had been declared by Britain and France in 1939, but the United States did not enter the war until 1941. The declaration of war, surprisingly, was not made because of circumstances in the European arena, but rather in the western Pacific when the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor. Within days the U.S. declared war with Germany and Italy as well.

As the building materials plants near Pleasant Hill were retooling for wartime production, the Black community nestled around the Baptist Church and Moses School was literally on the brink of change. Before the end of the war, the demand for natural resources had the plant expanding its open-pit mining operations, and demolishing the company housing in the Black section of Pleasant Hill to gain access to the deposits below. We were quite fortunate to locate a woman named Mabel Shields who taught at the Moses School between 1937 and 1942. Her recollections help us reconstruct some community life and education in the early years of superintendent McBride.

Mrs. Shields' experiences with segregated education began long before she started teaching in Milford Village. She traces some of these earlier experiences for us:

> Mrs. S: When I was growing up we were poor but I didn't know I was poor--everybody was poor. All of our friends were poor, (but) we were happy. We never knew hunger beyond the distance between two meals. And growing up as kids, we had a happy home, we loved each other and were taught to love each other and to share and to obey and so we--I never felt poor. I didn't see anybody who had any more, you see, you get your images of poverty from seeing a great contrast, I didn't see any great contrast. There was no TV, the races were entirely segregated....I remember in growing up--I remember getting waited on last--I remember perhaps even getting the worst head of cabbage or the worst head of lettuce that the store man had....The white kids were always alright as long as they didn't have company. If they'd have company, then they'd come down and call us "nigger." Our mother would always say to us, "Well, now there are enough of you all to play and have fun and you have a yard that's big enough so you play, they're lonely, that's the reason they act like that."....I remember having poor school supplies or no supplies and not being able to go beyond the eighth grade. I remember our mother going to the school board, saying, "Gentlemen, how can you expect my children to be decent and literate" and remember the school board laugh at her or kick each other underneath the table, "Here comes that old lady again," until she finally, along with some other parents, went to the General Assembly, saved money to pay a lobbiest to go to the General Assembly and they were part of the ones who were instrumental in getting the General Assembly to pass a law that if there was no place for Blacks to go to school within a district then that board of education had to pay. Because it was our mother who really woke up to the fact that you were paying taxes for schools but you weren't getting any school. I don't know how she woke up to that because our mother was not a formally educated woman.

Mrs. Shields attended a Black Teachers College operated by the Metropolitan City School System. As she contrasted the quality of segregated education in the City Schools with Milford Village, the reasons for her choice of Milford are clear:

> Mrs. S: Well, at that time in the black grade schools in Metropolitan City, there were 45 and 50 students per grade in the room perhaps--well, I had friends who had 45 children and 15 books. Supplies were bad in the Black schools and so I...never did teach in Metropolitan City.
>
> Obs: Never in your whole career?
>
> Mrs. S: Never, I...stayed at Milford Village because even though I had multiple grades, I had small numbers, I had all the supplies I wanted, I had a community. The school was the community and I liked that. I had all kinds of parent cooperation, no discipline problems hardly, really ever. So those were all pluses to me....
>
> Obs: And comparatively speaking, to the black schools in the city, text books and materials and that kind of thing were plentiful in your school compared to the Black schools in the city?
>
> Mrs. S: In Metropolitan City, right.
>
> Obs: And I guess you really didn't have any image of whether you had as much as the kids at Milford Village Elementary School?
>
> Mrs. S: No, I didn't know--we got discards from Milford Village too often, but we also had new supplies.
>
> Obs: So it was a mix of some of the old stuff and then some.
>
> Mrs. S: Right, but I always had enough--I had friends (in the city schools) who had 45 kids in a room and enough supplies for 15 kids. We had expendable writing materials and math books you couldn't write in if you had--if you had a workbook in Metropolitan City, you couldn't write in it, the kids couldn't write in it....Because it had to be reused and all that--I just never did go to the city to teach because of that.

Mrs. Shields went on to describe her first months at Moses School and the nature of Mr. McBride's supervisory role:

> Mrs. S: Mr. McBride was the Superintendent and he came to City Teachers College when I was a senior, looking for a teacher for the Moses School. The school was a one through eight school for Blacks. There were two teachers there, one teacher taught grades one through three then after that the grades skipped and there was a four, six and eight one year, then a...three, five and seven the next....There was just a

> graduation class every other year when I first went there. Now, I got the job because of the interview with Mr. McBride and that was my first job. In fact, when I got the job I had not yet graduated from City Teachers College....I had only fifteen students.
>
> Obs: So you changed that after you're first year there.
>
> Mrs. S: Right, just went on into that because with such small numbers we really were more like a family and that's the way it was. Now, I taught there for five years and there were only 35 students in the school. There was no contact at all that I recall, with the White schools or any of the White teachers or any of the White administration, it was a totally segregated situation and the only person that I ever saw was Mr. McBride who was the Superintendent and he used to come--well, initially he came every day and then he'd come two or three times a day and I later concluded that he was coming to see whether I was working or not. That was just a judgment on my part because after he did that about three or four times and he always found me working, there was always so much to do that you couldn't not work, he'd quit coming and sometimes I'd have to call and ask him if I wanted supplies or things like that.

As McBride became satisfied that Mrs. Shields was a competent teacher, a more routine pattern of interaction evolved. She described this as follows:

> Obs: You said that Mr. McBride was the key person that you knew in the school system itself--what's your recollection of him? What kind of images come to mind as you think about him in those days?
>
> Mrs. S: Well, not a great deal because we didn't interact a great deal. First, he had a hearing loss and I think his hearing loss made him somewhat of a retiring person, I can't remember that he was ever very extroverted. I think that--just a judgment, but that he was not the kind of person who could say, "I have a hearing loss, talk up." Then, if he didn't hear he'd let it go by rather than to--rather than say, "I can't hear you, will you speak a little louder." or something like that. So there was never a great deal of interaction between us--he'd bring me supplies. If I wanted to do something, I'd ask him--he never negated any of my plans or anything like that. We never had any conflicts. I don't recall ever any very intense cooperation. To begin with, at that time, you weren't supposed--Blacks and Whites weren't supposed to interact anyway, not too much.

> Obs: Not in Midwest State at that time.
>
> Mrs. S: Not in Midwest State at that time and certainly not on an open friendly level so the whole culture was--he was just a product of the culture. He brought me supplies, he saw that I had everything that I needed, everything that I asked for, he got me.
>
> Obs: So, in a sense, he was supportive within the contexts of those times then.

While Mrs. Shields did not live in Pleasant Hill, she was quite involved with the community and offered some further recollections of the war-time era:

> Mrs. S: We started a P.T.A. and the P.T.A. worked very well with the school. As I said, the school was almost like a family and then the community and the school just got to be very much like a family. There really got to be some almost primary relationships. On P.T.A. night I never came home, I lived in North County, I never came home. Somebody would always invite me to supper and I'd stay at school and work until about 5 or 5:30, then I'd go for supper and then I'd go back to school and we'd have P.T.A. meeting. So that's the way the school was run. There was one boy at that time who was about 18 or 19, in the eighth grade, and I was just about 22, I guess I was 22. And I was a little afraid of him, a little apprehensive of him at first, but found that there was never anyone any more genteel. So we just went on like that as far as the school was concerned. Now, the students who came to this school lived in homes for the most part, the homes were owned by the Midwest Building Materials Plant.... The Plant owned most of that property that was up there and most of the parents worked for the Plant....Before I left there were people who had to move because they would blast for limestone on their property and of course, they could because it was their property. The only interaction that I remember between the schools was during sugar rationing. They closed school half a day I think and all of the teachers in the district did the distribution of sugar stamps--our school was closed--Moses was closed, and we went over to the grade school where the White children went and distributed the stamps. The parents had to come, register their families, and tell how many were in the family and you got stamps on the basis of how many people were in the family. (8/15/80)

Mrs. Shields next turned her attention to a number of particulars about school life at Moses:

Obs: Describe Moses a little bit in terms of what your rooms looked like, as it flashes through your mind, and what the school looks like.

Mrs. S: My room was a larger room because I had more grades but--and had bigger students too--but you went up some steps and went in the front door and there you were in the room and my room stretched across the whole front of the building and perhaps it might have been some 15 x 20 feet. Then her (the other teacher's) room was a little smaller and you walked right out of my room, well, you could just go right straight through my room through a doorway.

Obs: Did her kids have to come through your room to get to hers?

Mrs. S: No, she had an exit out the back and I had an exit out the front so hers didn't have--oh, inbetween there there were stairs to go to the basement because the johns were down in the basement, so in between her room--I guess that's what made her room smaller than mine as I recall, there was a stairway to the basement and it took off part of her room.

Obs: But they had indoor plumbing and facilities at this point?

Mrs. S: Yes, we had indoor toilets with washrooms....We had standard elementary classroom with no great embellishment but also no great deficits, the room was warm, we had good janitorial service, the heating plant was both ample and efficient.

Obs: Not broken windows that stayed broken for months on end or that kind of thing?

Mrs. S: No, no, if a window was broken it was repaired within a day or two and windows were broken because the boys played ball out in the yard, but--the building was well kept--well constructed--well maintained....We had a number of plays, always in the Spring we had one and always at Christmas we had one and that's one way to keep parents in school, have the kids do something.

Obs: So you, in effect, put on your own kind of small, dramatics type program.

Mrs. S: Oh yes, yes, yes, we always--and for P.T.A. we'd have the kids sing and have them say speeches or put on a play that was a dramatization of a story we'd done in reading or something like that so that would get the parents there. See, in grade school, if you have the kids put on a program or have food you'd get the parents.

Mrs. S: And we had a good school--our kids learned--they--I put them in a contest. I remember them getting a writing certificate--of course, you could write away for that see--send their speciman away and they didn't know whether it was Black or White. And some of my kids belonged to the reading circle 'cause they read a certain number of books so we had things that gave us self-respect and self-esteem and accomplishment and dignity. We didn't really have to have it handed to us by White people. The kids' parents in most cases, saw that they (kids) towed the line. They didn't have to decide themselves what was right and wrong, their parents made the decision and told them to do it. And they didn't have to oh, wobble around and search around for it. They had the security of knowing what was expected of them and they did it.

I had a little third grade girl in a fifth grade reading class because she had the ability to do it even though she was only in the third grade, I could move her around any way I wanted so I did that and I liked that so much.

Obs: When you think back of what might be called your teaching methods as a 22 year old just out of school, do you have an image of how you kind of organized things and how you did things?

Mrs. S: I suppose always running through my teaching I have liked my students and I liked to see them grow. I really--I used to keep folders where the first day of school we'd put some work in that folder and then after a month or two we'd look back at that first paper and always got such a thrill out of that and so would the kids. They'd have their own--and they'd say, "Did I do that? I didn't do that." They would always be shocked, you know, and so I have always liked growth and success.

As with all teachers, certain students leave a lasting impression. One of Mrs Shields' students, who enlisted in the Navy during the war, drew some fond memories:

Obs: Do you run into any of the kids that you had taught at all?

Mrs. S: Oh, yes, yes, I still have a couple of students who come to see me about once a year or something, they come and see me....My oldest student who was there when I started, joined the Navy right after he graduated and stayed in the Navy for years. He was such a neat kid, he was--I don't know why he was so far behind, 18 at the 8th grade but he was a

> dear, and he just--I really credit him with my love for geography maybe to a great extent, I don't know, part of it, although I took geography courses in college before I went there. But he just loved geography, such a dear kid--
>
> Obs: So the Navy suited him in terms of travel and that kind of thing.
>
> Mrs. S: Yes, in terms of travel--just a neat kid. (8/15/80)

This young sailor entered a military system which, like his schooling, was segregated by race. It would not be until 1947 that the Armed Services began to integrate.

Mabel Shield's last year at Amos Moses School was 1942. By this time the encroaching mine operations had reduced enrollments by half, and two teachers were no longer required. Ready to start a family, Mrs. Sheilds left the Milford Village School District. She reflected upon the twilight of the Black community at Pleasant Hill:

> Obs: Ah, so that last year then, have a half a dozen kids or so?
>
> Mrs. S: Right--see, because the Building Materials Plant began to blast and it was unsafe for some of those houses and they got so close to the houses and the back yards that they had the people move so when the people had to move that meant that the school population went down.
>
> Obs: Where did the people go?
>
> Mrs. S: Metropolitan City
>
> Obs: So they moved into the City at that point.
>
> Mrs. S: Yes, they moved into the City. (8/15/80)

Not long after Mrs. Shields left, the Moses School and surrounding homes and church were displaced by a strip mine. Some families were able to relocate across the road in other company houses. Both the Moses school and the Baptist Church were relocated. The new community of Pleasant Hill, with fewer Blacks, has managed to survive to the present day.

During the war, over 2,000,000 Blacks found employment in defense industries. The passage of the Fair Employment Practices Act in 1941 facilitated such career opportunities. These circumstances also changed the role of women in the workplace. Many of the women of Milford found employment at the nearby defense plants. Among these was Mrs. Neuberg, who worked at Dynamic Electric, and who offered these recollections of her contribution to the Allied cause:

> Obs: So what kind of effect did the War have on every day life in this community?
>
> Mrs. N: Well, the Second World War, I don't think it was just too hard on anybody. It was not like the depression.
>
> Son: Was there--isn't that when you went to work at Dynamic Electric?
>
> Mrs. N: Yeah.
>
> Son: Was there a lot of other people from this area over at Dynamic?
>
> Mrs. N: Oh yeah, lot of the women went to work in the defense plants--
>
> Grandson: They just needed people to work there?
>
> Mrs. N: Yeah, and the--like the building trade wasn't too good at the time, you know, everything just kind of fell apart. You know.
>
> Obs: What did you do at Dynamic?
>
> Mrs. N: Well, I was running a milling machine. And I worked there two years, and I got so good that I didn't even need a lead man to set up my machine.
>
> Grandson: They need some people like you, do you want to go back there?

> Mrs. N: Oh, I really liked my job. Oh, you know, it was so fascinating to set this up and take this micrometer and measure it and see how much you have to move it, you have to get the right cutting and everything, and run a piece through, and well, you are a little bit off yet, so you set it again and it was really fascinating and I really liked it.
>
> Obs: The pieces that you were working on when they were finally assembled, what was the product?
>
> Mrs. N: It was these turrets for these fighter planes.
> (1/18/81)

Franklin D. Roosevelt died in 1945 before the war ended. His successor, Harry Truman, quickly put an end to the remaining bellicosities in the Western Pacific by bombing the Japanese into submission with heretofore unprecedented nuclear power. Soon the soldiers returned to Milford, and the Building Materials Plant returned to peace time production. Internationally and locally, a new era had begun.

The study of the Marquette Creek Valley by Hunstein (1946) provides an excellent description of the coummunities making up the Milford Village and Marquette School Districts at the end of World War II. Hunstein divides the pattern of land use into four categories. We have found the classes of general farms, truck farms, industry, and residential properties useful in portraying the postwar state of community development. We treat these each in turn.

The general farm was still the most common sight in Milford in the mid 40's. This was particularly the case in the eastern, Marquette side of the district. Hunstein describes the general farm in Milford in this era:

> By far the largest percentage (64%) of the land of Marquette Valley is utilized for general farms. This is a surprising

> and unusual fact considering that the area is so close to Metropolitan City....This type of occupance predominates in the eastern half of the valley, occupying the valley floor and the slopes which are very gentle in this part of the valley. Most of the tracts are large, 45 acres or more. Traveling south on Gentle Valley Avenue after passing the Railroad tracks, one can see nothing except fields of grain broken only by the galeria forest along Marquette Creek and its tributaries. In the central section, along Midvale, there are several general farms, particularly on the west side, but these are not so large as those farther east and are intermingled with suburban residences and truck farms. At this point the valley floor is narrow and so the farms are located on the terraces and the uplands.
>
> The western section of the valley has a few general farms. They are so scattered and set back from the major highways that the appearance is not that of a rural area as it is in the eastern part.
>
> The agricultural development is that typical of the Humid Continental Corn Belt. Corn, wheat, oats, and hay are the predominant crops, and the acreage of a single holding of property is usually diversified in order to insure at least one good crop instead of gambling everything on a single bumper crop. (1946, pp. 24-5)

One of the photographs snapped by Hunstein to illustrate the general farm had him unknowingly focusing on the future site of the Kensington School. We display this photo as Figure 15.

Insert Figure 15 about here

While general farms accounted for the greatest proportion of the land within present day boundaries of the Milford School District, the truck farm was an even more important element of the landscape:

> In the agriculture of Marquette Valley the trucking industry is of first importance in the number of persons employed and as a source of income. Truck farms comprise approximately eight percent of the total area of Marquette Valley. As is to be expected in intensive farming, the holdings are small, averaging from 12-15 acres. The tracts are rather widely

Figure 15: A view west of Gentle Valley Road along the Marquette Creek. Kensington School would locate in upper left center.

> scattered throughout the western two-thirds of the valley. The pattern of truck farming follows rather closely the pattern of several soil types, namely the Memphis silt loam and the Genese silt loam. These soils are particularly well adapted to trucking.
>
> The homestead of the truck farmer is characterized by the glass-top hotbeds so essential to that type of farming. There are numerous sheds and out-buildings needed to house the variety of equipment. The truck farms usually occupy the gently sloping lands rather than the flat bottoms, in order to facilitate drainage. (pp. 27, 30)

Hunstein's photo illustration of a typical truck farm provides us with an additional glimpse of the future Kensington attendance area, but this time from the Richmond Road looking east. This photo is shown as Figure 16.

Insert Figure 16 about here

Milford's industrial base was concentrated near Pleasant Hill on the west side, and Dynamic Electric on the east. Hunstein first describes the industrial complex at Pleasant Hill right after the war:

> Heavy manufacturing in Marquette Valley is represented by only the Midwest State Building Materials Company, located at Pleasant Hill, near the mouth of Marquette Creek. The company occupies nearly 100 acres of creek flood plain. The steam shovel handles the loose rock after it is blasted from the wall. Small cars operate on the track, hauling raw materials to the plant....
>
> The Building Materials Company is for the most part a ground floor operation, dealing with large amounts of heavy materials. Tons of coal, limestone and shale are used in the production process and heavy equipment is needed. These factors, along with the quarrying operations, serve to classify this as a heavy industry and to differentiate it from the light manufacturing.

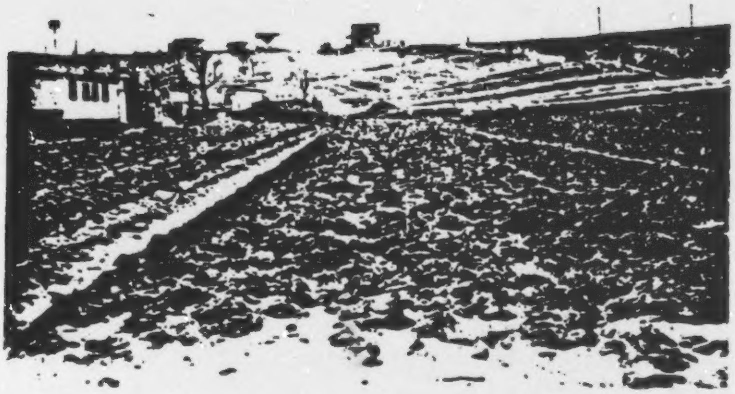


Figure 16: View looking east from Richmond Road, showing land prepared for Truck garden planting in the spring. In the upper right of the picture are the hotbeds.

> There are two nucleii of light manufacturing development in Marquette Valley. The asbestos group, M.K. Company and the Seville Company, in the southwest, and the Dynamic Electric Company in the northeast. The two asbestos companies at Pleasant Hill include nearly 100 acres of land adjacent to the Building Materials Company, on the flood plain of the creek. The Seville Company consists of one major plant and a small adjoining office building. The saw-toothed top plant borders Township Line Road and the North and South Railroad on the west, and Marquette Creek on the east....The company produces asbestos and asphalt building materials.
>
> The M.K. Asbestos Company consists of two plants of nearly the same size, and a large stockyard on the north side of the plants. The proximity of M.K. Company to the Building Materials Company enables them to receive materials by conveyor, directly from the Building Materials Company....M.K. Company are producers of asbestos shingles, corrugated and asbestos pipe.
>
> At the northeast nucleus there is only one company, Dynamic Electric, which occupies about ten acres. The plant is not located on the flood plain, but occupies the higher land at a point where the Railroad crosses the Gentle Valley Road.
> (p. 36)

As Hunstein describes the impact of industrial development on both ends of Milford, we are better prepared to understand the reasons for subsequent suburban development:

> The addition of factories in both ends of the valley gave a new character to the whole valley. The pattern introduced by this stage did not differ greatly from the heavy manufacturing, but it gave a new impetus to the development of the valley. The many large factory buildings, the railroads and their spurs, switches and sidings were all evidences of the new motif. The new plants increased the payroll of the area, and gave a boost to the suburban residential growth. The expansion of both suburban residential and manufacturing properties caused land values to increase, and a consequent decrease in the areas of farm land. Because of the increased activity, additional means of transportation and commuter service were extended to include Marquette Valley.
>
> In general the whole area took on a new growth, and activities of all kinds increased and intensified. The landscape of the present day (1946) is a complicated intermingling of elements of general farming, trucking, suburban residences and heavy and light manufacturing. The most recent cultural pattern,

> light manufacturing, has only a small foothold at either end of the valley, Dynamic Electric in the northeast and the asbestos companies in the southwest. (1946, pp. 68)

The Marquette and Milford Village School Districts were still independent in 1946, and each had its own residential patters. On the Marquette side, the majority of homes were located along Donnelly Road near its intersection with Richmond Road. Change and continuity would have both been evident at this crossroads just after the war. The old saloon was gone, apparently not surviving prohibition, and the smith shop had become a gas station. The Farmer's Club and general store both remained on the sites they had occupied for more than 35 years. Another constant in the community was its school district, Marquette, which retained its Rural classification despite considerable growth in the area. With high schools close by in Milford Village, Killian Station, and Gordonville, there would appear to be little reason to incur the additional costs necessary to expand the program in the 2 story brick school.

Before the war ended, four subdivisions had grown up around the intersection of Donnelly and Richmond Roads. On the southeast corner, property once worked by the slaves of J.K. Upton had become a suburban neighborhood called Regal Summit. The 15 streets of small, inexpensive housing all bore royal titles. On the southwest corner, not far from the old school site, a 9 street subdivision called Exploration Hills was built on the property belonging to Frank Roberts before the Civil War. Like Regal Summit, Exploration Hills was built for working class families, and shows the same pattern of staggered and interupted construction typical of homes built during times of scarcity. On the northwest corner, another 11 streets composed a montage of housing which ranged from shingle sided shacks to modest frame homes. This area had onced pastured the dairy herds of Thomas Harmon's descendents. Hunstein describes this neighborhood called "Richmond":

> North of Donnelly Road and east of Richmond Road is known locally as Richmond. This extends to the south and west of the aforementioned roads and comprises an area of nearly 240 acres. This is the oldest of the residential areas and although the subdivision was laid out for a large population there are only approximately 50 homes there today. The lots are large indicating a residential-garden type of home site, but the homes are not, as a rule, well kept. The structures are characteristically small frame or brick bungalows of a very simple plan. They never were, and are not now, expensive homes....Topographically the subdivision occupies the higher land bordering Donnelly Road, and the terraces sloping gently toward the creek. The land is well drained but the streets are poor and in wet weather very muddy. There are no sidewalks. The Marquette School is located in the southeast corner of the tract. (pp. 33-4)

Once again, Hunstein's camera focused on some of the homes in the area which would one day become a part of the Kensington attendance area. We show these photos as Figure 17.

Insert Figure 17 about here

On the northeast corner of Richmond and Donnelly was located a subdivision called Marquette Acres. The homes along the eight streets built on this site benefited more from planning, development and adequate financing than surrounding neighborhoods. Marquette Acres offered tidy, moderately priced brick homes built without the signs of struggle visible elsewhere. We display as Figure 18 one of Hunstein's photos of a typical home in Marquette Acres in 1946. Three years later,

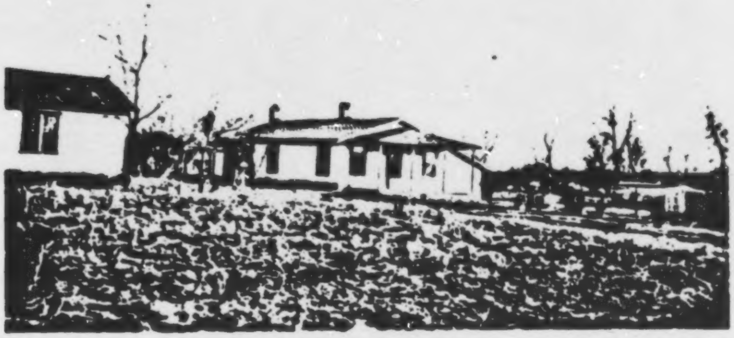
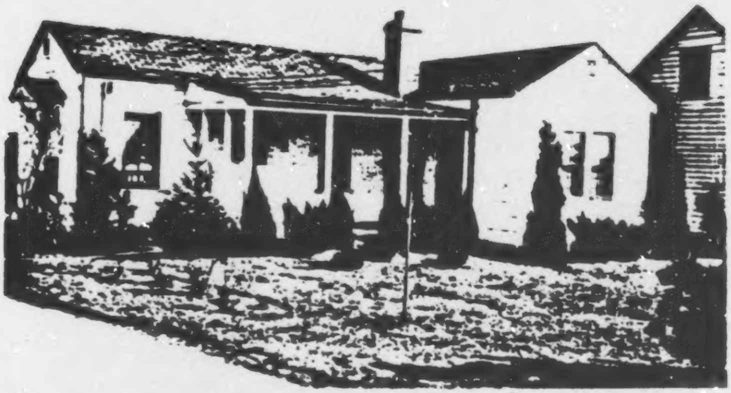


Figure 17: Shown on top, a typical home of the Richmond subdivision. Note the frame structure surrounded by sheds and a small corn field. Below, one of the better homes in Richmond subdivision.



with a population of only 100, Marquette Acres became the first community in the present day boundaries of the Milford School District to incorporate and become a self governing municipality.

Insert Figure 18 about here

On the west side of the District, the Milford Village subdivision was the most populous area with perhaps 500 residents. Many lots in Milford were yet undeveloped, and those which had dwellings upon them varied considerably in architecture, building materials and cost. Three churches were now located in the community--Catholic, Lutheran and Baptist. A few stores and a fire house were situated on Donnelly (nee Grant) Road near the intersection of Saphire Drive, the subdivision's principal north--south thoroughfare. At this same intersection were the subdivision's two schools--Milford Village Elementary and St. Barbara's Elementary.

Due south of Milford Village was the company town of Pleasant Hill which, by 1946, had lost much of its Black population. Hunstein described what remained:

> The second largest concentration of suburban residential occupance is the Pleasant Hill District. This was the first major concentration having been built soon after the Building Materials Company was organized in 1902. Today the area is certainly not a first-class residential area. The houses have become old and are badly in need of repair and paint. They are small structures, mostly frame, and are closely spaced with small front and back yards. Some of the houses are directly adjacent to the Building Materials plant and all are within one or two blocks of the Plant. This presented a problem during the early years because the dust from the manufacturing process would pollute the air of the neighborhood. The company solved the problem when they changed from a "dry" to a "wet" process, thereby eliminating the dust.

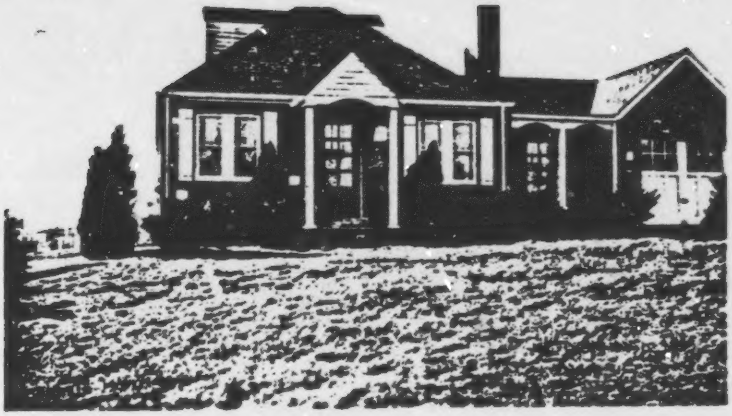


Figure 18: A typical home in Marquette Acres. Note the brick structure and the well kept, landscaped grounds.

The author's camera shot several pictures of Pleasant Hill in 1946 which we array in Figure 19.

Insert Figure 19 About Here

Subdivisions were also being built along the Carlton Road near Donnelly. The nuclear community which Hunstein describes below was once the property of Dr. John Grant, and then his son-in-law, William Carr, scout leader and Spiral Hill School Board member in the 20's:

> The residential areas, however, are not all of the poorer type. Recent development has been of a smaller size subdivision and a more expensive type home. There have been several small plots laid out bordering on Carlton Road which are of the type. On the east side of the road several hundred yards north of Donnelly Road is the subdivision known as Harvest Heights. The homes are two-story residential type, brick structures, high priced and well kept. They are moderately spaced so as to allow plenty of room for landscaping and play yards. There is no attempt at subsistence gardening, as these are residences of a comfortable income group. A small tributary of Marquette Creek cuts through the subdivision and the bordering land is made into a parkway. There are, at present, six homes in the subdivision with more planned as soon as post-war building gets under way.
>
> Directly across Carlton Road are a few homes, the beginning of another subdivision. These, too, are large brick residences and are set back several hundred yards from the road.
>
> (pp. 35-6)

The latter half of the 1940's saw the beginning of the most rapid growth in the history of the Milford School District. In this post war era, terms like "Cold War" and "Iron Curtain" became common parlance as tensions between the Soviet Union and U.S were on the rise. The two local defense contractors expanded their operations in this period. A nation which had its prosperity postponed for a decade and a half began

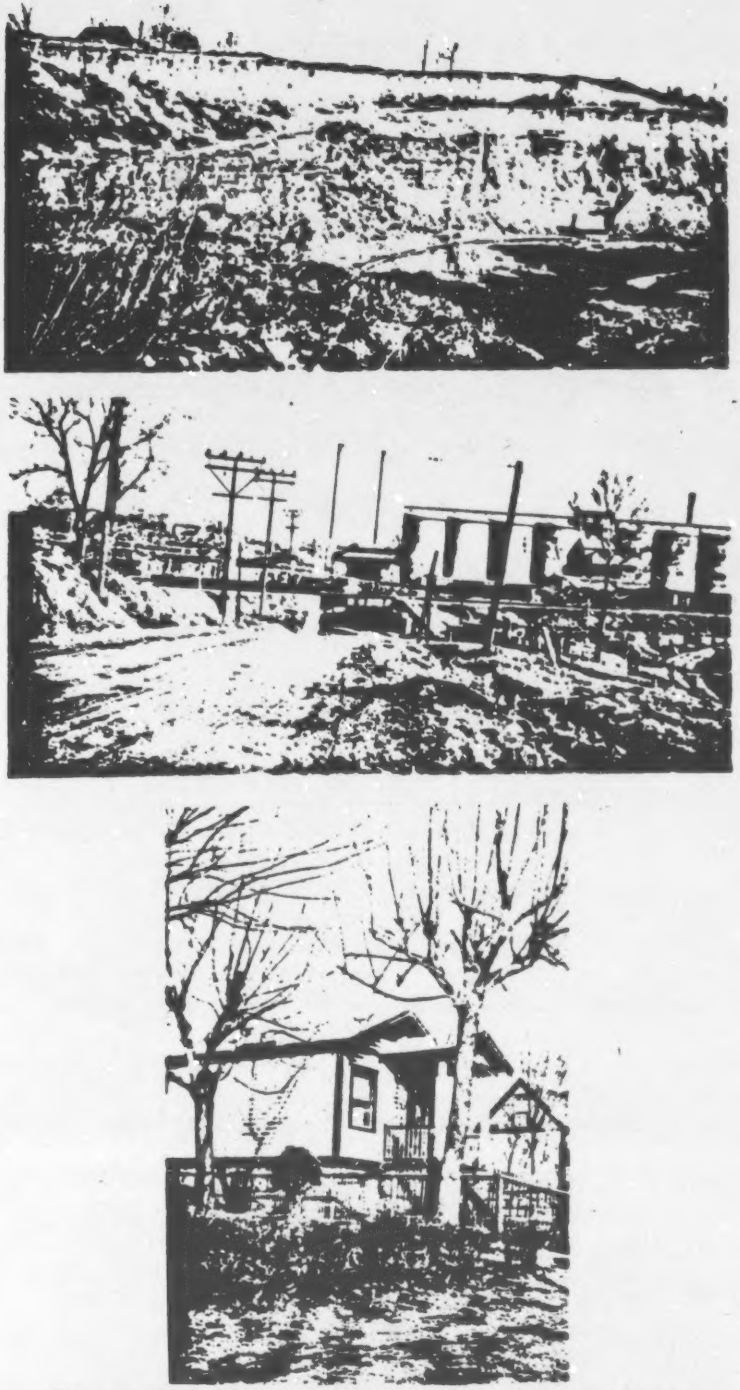


Figure 19: Photos of Pleasant Hill in 1946.
Top: Quarry of the Midwest State Building Materials Company.
Middle: The Building Materials Plant at the intersection of Doleman Road at the North and South Railroad tracks.
Bottom: A typical home in Pleasant Hill.

to surge into the suburbs. Cities like Gordonville and Killian Station absorbed the first wave of suburbanization, and each of Miford's neighbors reached populations near 10,000. Killian Station became incorporated in 1946. Developers were quick to see the potential in semi-rural Milford. Its good roads and proximity to major employers in the defense and construction industries made it well suited to both those employed locally, as well as those who commuted to work in Metropolitan City. The Federal Housing Administration, part of the New Deal, assisted developers in building houses, and helped buyers to purchase them. Needy families were provided subsidies to procure housing. Within just a few years after the war, these forces began to change the landscape along the Donnelly Road in an unprecedented manner.

Near Milford Village, a section of the Grant property was well on its way to becoming an exclusive, upper-middle class neighborhood called Harvest Heights. The death of Mrs. Frank R. Chester in 1945 had the heirs selling to developars all but eight acres around the mansion. By the end of the decade, construction was underway in the new Chester Hills subdivision, and hundreds of moderately priced, white frame homes would soon appear in the fields owned by Elias Chester since the early 1800's. Just south of Milford Village another large tract of land, once a part of the Edinburg Estate, was platted and the first of thousands of low cost frame homes sprang up in an unincorporated area that would be known as Edinburg Estates.

In 1948 in the midst of this transition from a semi-rural to suburban community, the Midwest State Legislature passed the School Reorganization Act. The following year, Marquette District was merged with Milford Village (nee Spiral Hill) and the reorganized system assumed the name Milford School District. The new district was bounded by the Gentle Valley Road on the east, Township Line on the west, the Sauk River on the South, and the City limits of Killian Station on the north. The reorganized Milford School District now contained three elementary schools-- Marquette, Milford Village, and Moses, and one secondary school, Milford High. Mr. McBride continued to serve as superintendent, as he had since 1935.

Irma Hauser returned to teaching in 1949 after an 18 year absence. She talked about the transition when Marquette was annexed by Milford:

> Mrs. H: I'll have to tell you how I went to Milford. We needed money and we needed it badly. And a friend of mine who taught in Gordonville was substituting. And one morning she called me and she said she had two calls to substitute--and one was in Milford--at Marquette--Well, it was not Milford then--Marquette was a little district by itself. And she said I can't take them both, and they say they can't get a substitute at all. And she said would I do it? And I said yes, I would--scared to death. You can imagine.
>
> Obs: After 18 years.
>
> Mrs. H: So I went out there and taught them at Marquette. Neal Unger was the Superintendent of the Marquette School District. And he called me at different times after that year. And in the spring he called me one day and said, "Would you consider a contract for next year?" They were merging with Milford that year and he wanted to get his teachers lined up. He was going to be the principal of this school.
>
> (9/29/79)

Characterizing the leadership style of Marquette's former superintendent, Mrs. Hauser added:

> Mrs. H: He (Neal Unger) was an autocrat--his word was law; however, I found him very agreeable. He was a fair man, but when he made a rule, it was kept. And, uh, the kids loved him--the children, especially the older boys and girls. He

> had taught the eighth grade there for years while he was principal, and they were very fond of him. So, uh, I got along fine with Neal.

The changes in the community during suburbanization were not always easily or willingly accepted by the older residents. The Neuberg family spoke of the adjustments required as the newcomers arrived:

> Son: Well, that is when the influx of people was comin' out from the city you know, and we used to, well, me personally, now, I don't want youse two to get mad at me, but, well, we used to, well, we called them "city hoosiers," because you walked across their yard and man, they'd want to kill you because...
>
> Mrs. N: Well, after the war it seemed like there was a boom in building....
>
> Obs: You were saying that after the war there was a boom, but could you describe what that boom was like?
>
> Mrs. N: Well, everybody was building and wanted to, you know, was mostly a--I think residents were building at that time. And the real estate people, they would buy plots of ground and lay it out in lots, and build houses and then sell, you know, to people. It seemed like almost as fast as they could build them, why they would sell them, you know. And
>
> Son: All of a sudden they'd come out here then, and they got a piece of grass, and they got a tree there, and that, that was their castle, and you didn't trespass on their ground, you know. But before when they lived in the city they could come out here and go huntin' and shoot up your equipment or mess up your corn field goin' in and tear things up and everything. That was okay, see, because you know farmers didn't know beans from doodle dee doo anyhow, you know. But then when they moved out here and got this piece of ground, well, then that was their domain and their castle and "You don't trespass on my"--you didn't pick one blade of grass out of their yard.... That is the way it was right at first, boy, I'll tell you.
>
> Obs: It seems like that is almost a little bit of growth pains.
>
> Son: Well, see, we were used to going any place we wanted. I mean we could go out there and stand up against the tree and take a leak if we wanted to. Or you know, we didn't have that much guns or that then, but we'd have rabbit traps and we'd set it around, and...you'd go over there in the morning to get

> your rabbit out, and here's somebody's already been there, and stole your rabbit out of the trap already, you know. Well, they didn't leave 'em loose....No, those were home made box traps we made, and you could tell, you would open it up and there would be fur in there, you knew something was in there, and the apple or carrot that you had in there was eaten on, so you know somebody got there. You just have to get up at daybreak and get out there and check your traps, otherwise they would be gone.
>
> Obs: What other kinds of adjustments did you have to make during the period of real boom and growth and that?
>
> Son: Well, the Health Department come in and made us get rid of all our cattle, our pigs, and cows....
>
> Obs: Is that right?
>
> Mrs. N: Yeah, it was right after the war I know....
>
> Son: Well, our one pig pen was about 12 feet from the guys bedroom window. (Laughter) But then we had our cows and stuff over across the street here, and then those kids would come and we had an electric fence, and just one single wire running around it, and they would get their dad's tin snips or that or they would stand on it, the wire, and then our cows would get out, and somebody would call us at one or two o'clock in the morning, our cows in their front yard eating their grass. (1/18/81)

The decade of the 1950's began in an atmosphere where optimism about growth and prosperity were penumbrated by Soviet development of nuclear weapons, the installation of a communist government on mainland China, and the crossing south of the 38th parallel by North Korean troops. Truman's response to this lattermost development was to deploy United States forces in Korea without a congressional declaration of war. On the home front in 1950, congress created the National Science Foundation to facilitate the dissemination of scientific knowledge for industrial and military use. 1950 also saw the first allegations by senator Joseph McCarthy of communist incluence in the civilian population and in the Truman administration. The Milford School District in 1950 had two more municipalities created within its boundaries. The City of Carlton Heights, composed largely of subdivisions of the Chester and Grant properties, was located on the east side of the railroad tracks. The City of Milford Village also became incorporated in 1950 on the west side of the tracks. F.K. Tholozan remembered the circumstances that led to the formation of the School District's second and and third cities:

> Mr. T: And then in the 1940's along come the real estate developers and Norman Lee, he built this Chester Hills and it's the biggest subdivision--they go from Chester Hills #1 to #14--he developed this and it just went up like a mushroom then down in--then Doleman Hills of course was just north of Doleman Road--that was built and then the Northway around Killian Station Road....Then in--about 1949 they (Carlton Heights) started talking about incorporating--in other words, they wanted to take Milford in with 'em but we didn't want to come in. We wouldn't come in with 'em. So they incorporated themselves into a fourth class city and Milford Village incorporated into a city--the Village of Milford. And then from then on after they incorporated--they started to build 'em up faster--more people come out here and this community on this side....had about 400--had 400 people and that was plenty....And then when the developers got in here then she really grew like a mushroom and grew from about 300 to 15,000.
> (8/6/81)

The next year, 1951, property once belonging to Frank Roberts became part of the City of Camdenton. This community in the southeast corner of Milford brought to four the number of municipalities within the school district boundaries. In the years to follow the two municipalities on the west side of the Midvale Road, Carlton Heights Estates and Milford Village, each enacted housing codes and required occupancy permits of its citizens. On the east side, neither Camdenton nor Marquette Acres had such ordinances, a point we believe to be signficant in later periods of racial transition. In each of these four cities, only a small fraction of the later population peaks was in place at the time of incorporation. Milford Village was most developed with about 10% of it level a decade later. Fort Carlton Estates was least developed with less than 1% of the population it would achieve by 1960.

In 1952, as Eisenhower and the Rebublican party were promising to end "corruption, communism, and Korea", United States scientists had developed the hydrogen bomb, and a new generation of nuclear defense technology. In the Milford School District, the frontal edge of a tremendous population boom was passing over and beginning to strain all of the schools except Moses Elementary. At Milford Village Elementary, temporary facilities were leased from the local Baptist Church to accomodate the overflow created by the Chester Hills and Edinburg subdivisions. In 1953, the last of over 3,000 homes in these two subdivisions was completed. Superintendent McBride and the Board of Education were busy coping with this present overcrowding, and at the same time preparing for the imminent future increases. In 1953, an $800,000 a bond issue was passed by the voters and sites for future schools were considered and purchased. A parcel of land which had been donated to Milford by the Grant family became Milford's third White elementary school in this same year. The overcrowding was only temporarily relieved with the opening of the Grant Elementary School. Plans for a new high school and several more elementary schools were also on the drawing board in 1953. On the east side of the district, the construction and occupation of homes in Camdenton was well on its way to its 1,000 family capacity. Just to the north of Camdenton, across the Donnelly Road, the Green Glen subdivision was springing up on the east side of the Marquette School. Among the new construction at

Green Glen was a Catholic Church and school named for the Evangelist St. Matthew. Now there were two parochial schools in Milford; one on either side of the Midvale Road. In about a decade the subdivision adjacent to St. Matthew, Green Glen, would have some of its children attending Kensington School.

1954 was a significant year with many pivotal events occuring in Milford's context. The United States signed a peace treaty with North Korea, while in Indochina Ho Chi Minh was rising in resistance to the French colonial government. Much of the cost of the French military efforts to retain power in Vietnam was bankrolled by the United States. The still young Central Intelligence Agency was at work behind the scenes in Southeast Asia, as it was also in Guatemala in 1954 during the overthrow of its government. 1954 was also a milestone for American education and the cause of Civil Rights. The Brown v. Topeka Board of Education decision effectively reversed the "separate but equal" interpretation of the 14th ammendment by the Pleggy v. Ferguson decision of 1896. In Milford, the response to court ordered desegregation came in two phases. In 1954 the few Black high school students from Pleasant Hill who had been required to attend school outside the district, were permitted to attend Milford High School. The overcrowded conditions at the elementary school level had the Milford Board of Education postponing integration of its younger students until the next school term. It appears the dis- trict was unwilling to send White children to Moses, though this would have relieved overcrowding in the White schools while adding to the low enrollment at Moses. The Williams School, across the tracks from Plea- sant Hill was under construction at the time and in 1955 became the new school for the Black and White elementary children in the northwest part of Milford. The Moses School, after 35 years of segregated education, became first a special education center, and then a district storage facility, its present day use. Concurrently in Montgomery Alabama, a woman named Rosa Parks refused to yield her bus seat to a White passenger when ordered by the bus driver to do so. Parks was arrested and a young minister named Martin Luther King effectively organized the Black community to boycott the bus system in protest of such discrimination.

In 1956, consumer purchasing power reached a post-depression high which, coupled with continuing high birthrates, kept the demand for new housing and schools at a peak. In this year Milford opened the Eugene Field Elementary School in the City of Marquette Acres. Field's Principal was a man named Michael Edwards. A decade later he would head the Kensington School. One of the new subdivisions completed in 1956 was called Kennerly Heights. This 150 home "cul de sac" complex was located in an unincorporated area in northeast Milford just outside the city limits of Killian Station. Later, Kennerly Heights would become part of the Kensington School attendance area, and be one of the first areas in the Milford District to undergo racial transition. 1956 was a turbulent year, internationally. In eastern Europe, the Russions brutally supressed the nation of Hungary, and in the mideast Egypt seized the Suez Canal. In Milford, the Board of Education floated another bond issue to finance the continuous need for new schools. In 1956, Milford provided bus transportation for 1,000 students in the district.

In the fall of 1957, the Brown v. Topeka decision was being defiantly challenged in Arkansas when the governor called in the National Guard to prevent Black students from attending Central High School in Little Rock. A recent newspaper article recounted some of the details of this highly charged opening of the school term:

> The girls were in bobby sox and the boys were dressed in open shirts. All were carrying books.
>
> They were not running, not even walking fast. They simply strolled toward the steps, went up, and were inside before all but a few of the 200 people at the end of the street knew it.
>
> Some did see the Negroes, however.
>
> "They've gone in!" a man roared, "Oh, God, they're in the school!"
>
> A woman screamed. "Did they get in? Did you see them go in?"
>
> "They're in now!" some other man yelled.
>
> "Oh, my God!" the woman screamed. She burst into tears and tore at her hair.
>
> **********
>
> It was September 23, 1957. For 17 days, Govenor Orval Faubus had used the National Guard to keep Black children out of Central High. But now, with the local police standing guard, five girls and three boys slipped inside.
>
> "Hysteria swept the crowd," Associated Press reporter Relman Morin wrote in the account excerpted above that earned him the Pulitzer Prize. Hundreds of Whites jeered and threatened to rush the school. Some threw rocks.
>
> "What I remeber about the first day was the angry, sweaty, red-faced horrifying anger on the faces of those adults," recalled Melba Pattillo Beals, one of the students and now a journalist in San Francisco. "I have never seen such anger."
>
> By noon, the Black students were removed for their own safety.
>
> The next day, President Eisenhower ordered 1,100 soldiers from the 101st Airborne Division to Little Rock.

> Said the President, "It will be a sad day for this country--both at home and abroad--if schoolchildren can safely attend their classes only under the protection of armed guards."
>
> That would be the case.
>
> On September 25, 1957, the 2,000 student school was desegregated for good. Nine Black students--one more than two days earlier--enrolled at Central High. Some soldiers would stay the whole year.
>
> Tensions ran high. Mayor Woodrow Mann's son went to school with a police escort. A cross was burned on Black attorney Wylie A Blanton, Sr.'s family cemetery plot. Neighbors guarded the lawyer's home. (Metro Gazette, 9/23/82)

Along with news about developments at Central High, in early October 1957 the wire services transmitted this brief, historic message:

> LONDON, October 4 (AP)--Moscow Radio said tonight that the Soviet Union has launched an Earth satelite.
> (Metro Gazette, 10/3/82)

The kind of fear that swept across the nation immediately was caricaturized in the newspaper that landed on the doorsteps of Milford Residents on October 9th, as shown in the editorial cartoon appearing as Figure 20.

Insert Figure 20 about here

A month later, the Russians successfully launched Sputnik II, labelled "Muttnik" to describe its live cargo. In December of 1957, the United States suffered considerable humiliation in its entry into the space age, as the Vanguard Rocket exploded on the launching pad. This failure was variously dubbed "dudnik", "flopnik" and "kaputnik". In January and March of 1958, the United States recovered some prestige upon the successful launchings of the two Explorer Satellites.

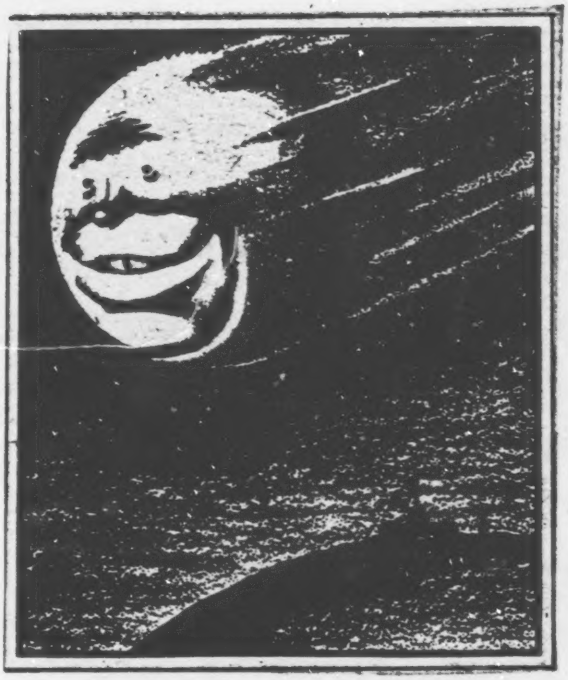


Figure 20:
Editorial Cartoon in Metro Gazette October 9, 1957

The most general facets of the aftermath of Sputnik was reflected upon by Werner Von Braun who is quoted as saying:

> Overnight, it became popular to question the bulwarks of our society, our public education system, our industrial strength, international policy, defense strategy and forces, the capability of our science and technology. Even the moral fiber of our people came under searching examination.
> (Metro Gazette, 10/3/82)

Among the many significant governmental responses to perceived weakness was the passage of the National Defense Education Act which infused billions of dollars into educational systems, and touched the lives of millions of youngsters in the way of "new math" and language labs in the schools. Shortly thereafter, the National Science Foundation had its funding and scope of work increases to bolster perceived deficiencies in science and math curricula and instruction.

Internationally, United States relations with Latin America were considerably worse than imagined, as Vice President Richard Nixon discovered in the angry mobs which greeted him during a goodwill tour in 1958. The following year, Fidel Castro overthrew the United States supported regime in Cuba. Before the end of Eisenhower's term in office, the downing of a U-2 spy plane over Russia led Khrushev to angrily cancel a summit meeting with the President to have been held in Geneva.

With as many Milford residents as there were employed in the local defense industries, these international events were no light matter. Many Milford families, concerned with the crowded conditions, no doubt took some consolation in the opening of three new schools during the

Sputnik era. The McBride Elementary School, honoring Milford's superintendent of over 20 years, opened in the City of Camdenton. The new and quite large Milford High School opened up adjacent to the sprawling Edinburg Estates subdivision. The old high school, once known as Spiral Hill, became the district's first junior high school. In 1959, yet another elementary school, Hillside, opened on a lot adjacent to Edinburg Estates subdivision.

As the decade of the 60's began, Milford completed construction of Central Junior High School, its eighth school since 1952. Each of Milford's four municipalities had grown considerably since the early 50's. Milford Village now had 3,300 residents; Fort Carlton Estates reached 13,500; Marquette Acres climbed to 3,100 and Camdenton contained 4,700 residents. In 1960 Milford Schools enrolled 7,100 students. This figure was about 3/4 of the maximum number of pupils reached in 1970, and nearly 25% more than the enrollement would be in 1980. The wave of expansion and growth passed through the western half of the Milford District earlier than in the eastern portion. Only two elementary schools remained to be built in Milford--both to be on the east side. The Kensington School would be one of these.

In the several years prior to Kensington's opening, some significant developments occurred in multiple layers of community context. The innauguration of John F. Kennedy in 1961 brought a "New Frontier" with appeals to America's pioneering spirit to make responsible technological advances, and compassionate social improvements. Kennedy's commitment to space exploration resulted in the Apollo Project and the goal of landing a man on the moon before the decade's end. Social needs at home were addressed through such legislation as the Housing Act and the Vocational Education Act. The Peace Corps was created out of humanitarian concern for the less fortunate abroad.

In 1962, United States hopes for victory in the space race were elevated with the successful launching of the communications sattelite TELSTAR. In Milford this same year, Superintendent McBride grudgingly stepped aside to be replaced by Dr. Steven Spanman. A family named Everett was living in the Green Glen Subdivision at the time, and offered these recollections of the transition from McBride to Spanman:

> Mr. E: What happened was at that time they had a big controversy at the School Board, and I was sort of interested in a couple of the guys that were running, getting the old guys out, and the new guys in.
>
> Obs: Was this McBride?
>
> Mr. E: Yeah, this was when McBride got canned and a guy by the name of Steven Spanman came in....McBride had a contract with Milford, and they brought Spanman in, and put McBride behind a desk out in the hall with nothing to do for a year trying to get him to retire. He would not resign. He would not talk to them or nothing. I mean he just sat at a desk.... so when these people (board members) got in they were all, you know, tremendously excited about these new things. So they got rid of McBride who was the school superintendent at Milford for about 25-30 years. They got this boy Spanman in. He was quite an innovator. At that time we were all young, you know, we were all excited about grade schools. So we got all these Federal Funds and this deal to building Kensington. (11/17/80)

Mrs. Hauser was another present during the transition between McBride and Spanman. She offered these perceptions:

> Mrs. H: I liked Mr. McBride. We didn't have much direct contact with him, but uh, some of the teachers thought he was passe, and maybe he was, I don't know. Dr. Spanman

> overwhelmed us when he came--me, I should say, and I think others--with his manner after Mr. McBride. And all of his innovative ideas that he had. And his overhead projectors (laughs). And he didn't talk without that. I like him though, and I think he was a brilliant man....

Spanman, an outsider to Milford, brought with him to Milford, a bright, progressive administrator named Eugene Shelby. Shelby, also from outside the district, was appointed to head the Marquette School upon the retirement of Neal Unger. When Kensington was later being staffed, Shelby chose Mrs. Hauser to teach at the new school.

Before ground was broken for Kensington School, the Civil Rights movement, under the leadership of Dr. Martin Luther King, was gaining considerable momentum and at considerable cost. King's anti-segregation demonstrations in Birmingham Alabama in April of 1963 landed the civil rights leader in the City jail from where he penned the following reply to his critics:

> You deplore the demonstrations that are presently taking place in Birmingham. But I am sorry that your statement did not express a similar concern for the conditions that brought the demonstrations into being....I would not hesitate to say that it is unfortunate that so-called demonstrations are taking place in Birmingham at this time, but I would say in more emphatic terms that it is even more unfortunate that the White power structure of this city left the Negro community with no other alternative.
>
> In any nonviolent campaign there are four basic steps: (1) collection of the facts to determine whether injustices are alive; (2) negotiation; (3) self-purification; and (4) direct action. We have gone through all of these steps in Birmingham. There can be no gainsaying of the fact that racial injustice engulfs this community. Birmingham is probably the most thoroughly segregated city in the United States. Its ugly record of police brutality is known in every section of this country. Its unjust treatment of Negroes in the courts is a notorious reality. There have been more unsolved bombings of Negro homes and churches in Birmingham than any city in this nation. These are the hard, brutal, and

unbelievable facts. On the basis of these conditions Negro leaders sought to negotiate with city fathers. But the political leaders consistently refused to engage in good faith negotiations....

You may well ask, "Why direct action? Why sit-ins, marches, etc? Isn't negotiation a better path?" You are exactly right in your call for negotiation. Indeed, this is the purpose of direct action. Nonviolent direct action seeks to create such a crisis and establish such creative tension that a community that has constantly refused to negotiate is forced to confront the issue. It seeks so to dramatize the issue that it can no longer be ignored....

We know through painful experience that freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor; it must be demanded by the oppressed. Frankly I have never yet engaged in a direct action movement that was "well timed," according to the timetable of those who have not suffered unduly from the disease of segregation. For years now I have heard the word "Wait!" It rings in the ear of every Negro with a piercing familiarity. This "wait" has almost always meant "never."....
We must come to see with the distinguished jurist of yesterday that "justice too long delayed is justice denied." We have waited for more than three hundred and forty years for our constitutional and God-given rights. The nations of Asia and Africa are moving with jet-like speed toward the goal of political independence, and we still creep at horse and buggy pace toward the gaining of a cup of coffee at a lunch counter.

I guess it is easy for those who have never felt the stinging darts of segregation to say wait. But when you have seen vicious mobs lynch your mothers and fathers at will and drown your sisters and brothers at whim; when you have seen hate-filled policemen curse, kick, brutalize, and even kill your Black brothers and sisters with impunity; when you see the vast majority of your twenty million Negro brothers smothering in an air-tight cage of poverty in the midst of an affluent society; when you suddenly find your tongue twisted and your speech stammering as you seek to explain to your six-year-old daughter why she can't go to the public amusement park that has just been advertised on television, and see tears welling up in her little eyes when she is told that Funtown is closed to colored children, and see the depressing clouds of inferiority begin to form in her little mental sky, and see her begin to distort her little personality by unconsciously developing a bitterness toward White people; when you have to concoct an answer for a five-year-old son asking in agonizing pathos: "Daddy, why do white people treat colored people so mean?"; when you take a cross country drive and find it necessary to sleep night after night in the uncomfortable corners of your automobile because no motel will accept you; when you are humiliated day in and day out by

> nagging signs reading "white" men and "colored"; when your first name becomes "nigger" and your middle name becomes "boy" (however old you are) and your last name becomes "John," and when your wife and mother are never given the respected title "Mrs."; when you are harried by day and haunted by night by the fact that you are a Negro, living constantly at tip-toe stance never quite knowing what to expect next, and plagued with inner fears and outer resentments; when you are forever fighting a degenerating sense of "nobodiness";--then you will understand why we find it difficult to wait. There comes a time when the cup of endurance runs over, and men are no longer willing to be plunged into an abyss of injustice where they experience the bleakness of corroding despair. I hope, sirs, you can understand our legitimate and unavoidable impatience....
>
> You express a great deal of anxiety over our willingness to break laws. This is certainly a legitimate concern. Since we so diligently urge people to obey the Supreme Court's decision of 1954 outlawing segregation in the public schools, it is rather strange and paradoxical to find us consciously breaking laws. One may well ask, "How can you advocate breaking some laws and obeying others?" The answer is found in the fact that there are two types of laws: There are just laws and there are unjust laws. I would be the first to advocate obeying just laws. One has not only a legal but moral responsibility to obey just laws. Conversely, one has a moral responsibility to disobey unjust laws. I would agree with Saint Augustine that "An unjust law is no law at all."
>
> Now what is the difference between the two? How does one determine when a law is just or unjust? A just law is a man-made code that squares with the moral law or the law of God. An unjust law is a code that is out of harmony with the moral law. To put it in the terms of Saint Thomas Aquinas, an unjust law is a human law that is not rooted in eternal and natural law. Any law that uplifts human personality is just. Any law that degrades human personality is unjust. All segregation statutes are unjust because segregation distorts the soul and damages the personality. It gives the segregator a false sense of superiority and the segregated a false sense of inferiority.
>
> (Cited in Current and Goodwin, 1980, pp. 824-6)

In August of the same year, King led a peaceful March on Washington by 200,000 Blacks and Whites. Martin Luther King would be awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1964.

During the Kennedy adminstration, tensions between the United States and Soviet Union almost escalated to war. The unsuccessful invasion of the Bay of Pigs by a Cuban-American force stretched already strained relations with the Castro regime. When the USSR attempted to install Soviet missle bases in Cuba, Kennedy responded with a United States blockade of the island. A nuclear confrontation was avoided when Russian ships approaching Cuba halted outside the quarantine zone. As Secretary of State Dean Rusk put it, "We're eyeball to eyeball, and I think the other fellow just blinked."

At the time the blueprints for the Kensington School were being drawn up, President Kennedy was felled by an assassin's bullet. It would fall upon Lyndon Johnson to try to realize the dream of Camelot.

6. THE TRANSFORMATION OF MILFORD

This final chapter covers the years 1964 to 1980, the decade and a half between our first and second ethnographies of the Kensington School. During this period, the immense growth in population peaked and declined. In 1964 Milford built its last two schools, Kensington one of them, and by 1980 Milford had closed three schools. When Kensington was completed, relatively small amounts of land were still available to developers, and much of the ensuing residential construction was in multi-family dwellings. The racial composition of the Milford community changed dramatically during these years as well. When we first observed Kensington, it was virtually an all White school. On our second time around, Kensington was 60% Black. The innovative program whose beginnings we documented in Anatomy had, in the interim, been replaced by a very traditional mode of instruction. As we now continue to chronicle the development of the Milford community, we shall see how these demographic characteristics have figured in Kensington's future.

We have organized this narrative in three sections. In the first we consider the couple years between Kensington's opening and the departures of the school's driving forces, Steven Spanman and Eugene Shelby. The second part begins in 1966 with the instatement of Michael Edwards as Kensington's principal and Ron George as District Superintendent, and continues to the year 1972. This was a rather calm and stable period in Kensington's history following modifications of the school's missions. Beginning in 1973, the racial make-up of the

Milford community began to change, and in the third section we document the process of racial transition in Milford and examine its impact upon the school and community.

6.1 The Innovative Years: 1964 and 1965

In total, the Kensington experiment lasted less than two years. Our earlier account of Kensington documented these troubled beginnings which, in large measure, had their origins in the Milford community. We saw, for example, how community conservatism collided with Spanman's innovative vision, and how the new school erected a "facade" to insulate itself from community criticism. Now that much time has elapsed since these innovative years, we have returned to the community to sample some of the impressions and memories of district patrons about Kensington's beginnings, and its community context.

We spoke with a woman named Lucille Smothers, whose children attended Marquette School in 1964. In the conversation, we learned about the origins of the name "Kensington":

> Mrs. S: When they built Kensington it was built to house Singleton Terrace children and Kennerly Heights children and a few of the, you know, the homes through my area (Green Glen) because Marquette was overcrowded. And the reason Kensington got it's name was at that time some of the children that were going to Marquette would be going to this new school. And they ran a contest with the students that would be going down there to name it. So they combined the Kennerly Heights' name with the Singleton Terrace Apartments' name and a girl, I don't know who she was now, but one little girl came up with the name "Kensington" 'cause of these two names....I was in Marquette Mothers' Club at that time and the contest happened, you know, with the Marquette children that would be going to the new school. And that's the way they got that name.

The Kensington School was located less than a mile north of the Marquette School. And while parts of the Green Glen subdivision closest to the new school were given optional attendance at Kensington, the majority of the children were drawn from the two residential areas for which the innovative school was named. The Kennerly Heights subdivision, eight years old when Kensington opened, was located on the western end of the attendance area. About 3/4 mile of pasture land and truck farms separated this 150 family subdivision from Kensington. Kennerly Heights homes were priced for moderate income families, with most of the houses built with a combination of brick and frame and more with carports than garages. Kennerly Heights remains to this day a "cul de sac" whose four streets have but a single entrance off the Richmond Road. Children living in Kennerly Heights have always required transportation to school, for the vintage 1815 Richmond Road has long carried a heavy traffic flow. The Bixby's, Fred and Martha, moved to Kennerly Heights in 1956. There own children were at Milford High School when Kensington opened, but their grandson attended Kensington in the mid-1970's. The Bixby's opened their home to us and shared some recollections about earlier times in the Kennerly Heights neighborhood:

> Mrs. B: We used to come over the Sauk River bridge and...Then we stopped and said, well, let's take a ride out this way and see if they are building any new homes. We used to pick black berries around Richmond and Donnelly. Really.
>
> Obs: Was this all fields here?
>
> Mrs. B: Well, this was actually a dump site, tin cans--people would come along and just throw tin cans and everything. This was an area that had trees, wasn't it?...Yeah, it was a wooded area. Then they started building homes out here so we came out and looked. There was a big farm house up there that we used to stop on the way back to buy vegetables. The farmer had a stand out there. We went to North Metropolitan City

and we looked at homes, and in North Metropolitan City the same floor plan as we got here was $3,000.00 more than this home was.

Obs: Is that right?

Mrs. B: Yeah, then we figured, well, if we moved way out there--All of our relatives lived in Detroit, you know. They don't like city driving, and they have got all that city driving going to work. "So let's go to Suburban County." So that is what we decided, we'd come out here. We looked at the house five times before we actually decided to buy it.

Mr. B: We came and looked at the place, not this place, this place wasn't built at the time, but--

Obs: They had a display home?

Mr. B: Yeah....We looked at it, and the price was around $14,000.

Mrs. B: $14,250.00.

Mr. B: So when we finally decided to buy and it came up to $15,750....Then we got settled here. We had nice neighbors at that time....

Mrs. B: There was mostly young families. Sarason, Bob Sarason lived across the street and they have five children.

Mr. B: Harvey's

Mrs. B: Harvey's, they had two boys. And the people who lived next door here, his name was Fenstermacher, and they had two children, and then he was transferred....up east. He still corresponds. Every Christmas we hear from Fred and Darlene, and we keep up with their children. They are all married now. Then next house there was Baxter, Homer Baxter, and they had three children....And it was a friendly, you know what I mean, we used to go to the top of the hill and once a month...they would buy the beer. And you could buy it for just what they paid for it, and they would play records, and we would dance at the top of the hill. I would pop so much popcorn and the next one would pop so much popcorn, and then you had to put your name on you and it was just a regular nice get together.

Mr. B: I remember we used to have coffee Klatches out there.

Mrs. B: Yeah, when school first started, why everybody in the subdivision would bring their coffee cup out there and sit on the grass right here on the corner and said, "Hooray, vacation time is over, and the kids are going back to school!"....They

> (the neighbors) didn't come in and "visit," you know what I mean. They would not come in here and keep you from doing your work. But like I said, when school started everybody would go with that coffee cup down there....And then they started that deal about having kidnap breakfast....You come as you are, you know. And they would, a couple of them, formed it up here. I used to laugh at Darlene. She would say my mother would just die if she knew they got me in a car driving somewhere the way I'm dressed.
>
> Obs: Was that just the neighborhood, or was that the parish or...
>
> Mrs. B: No, no, it was just the neighborhood. Like I said, if we never did visit, like go and sit for hours in somebody else's home or something. But if somebody got sick, we were there.
>
> Obs: So you had your privacy but people still cared.
>
> Mrs. B: Right, they still cared and they was there to help you. Or if there was a death, listen, you didn't have to worry about your kids being taken care of or nothing. You know, like I said, when we first come here Dorothy across there, we got the biggest kick out of her. She would buy milk down here at the dairy, and the kids would not drink it. Fred would go down there at the dairy and buy milk and I would bake cookies, and we did a lot of baking at that time, and the youngest boy was still home, my youngest boy, and the kids would smell it, you know. And some of us didn't have fences back then and they would cut across the yard, and this was instead of going around the streets to go home, and they would smell the cooking and they would say, "Oh, we have to go see what Mrs. Bixby is doing. Ask Mrs. Bixby if she needs any leaves raked or something, or see what she wants." And they would come over here and I would give them a cookie and the first thing you know they were drinking milk and eating cookies, and Dorothy would say, "I can't get the kids to drink milk at home." So every Monday morning she would come over here and bring money so I would buy milk for the week for her kids so they would get their amount of milk. You know what I mean, it was really nice. (12/2/80)

In its early days, Kennerly Heights had an Improvement Association, as did Milford Village after World War I. But neither its challenges nor its community involvement matched the MVIA. The Kennerly Heights Improvement Association had disbanded before Kensington was built. Mr. Bixby described the problem with the early KHIA:

> Obs: Could you talk a little bit about the Kennerly Heights Improvement Association? Just to kind of go back into that.
>
> Mr. B: That had been in existance when--way back when. It started out when we first moved in here. It seemed like it was what they called a clique, with maybe eight or ten families involved. They didn't bother to get the other people involved. Well, that eventually folded up.
>
> Obs: Let's see, how long did it last?
>
> Mrs. B: Oh, about five years. (12/2/80)

Kennerly Heights is located on the north side of the Marquette Creek. Across the flood plain and nestled along the east side of Kensington was the Singleton Terrace apartment complex. During Kensington's first year, the last section of this large multi-family housing complex became available for occupancy. A newpaper advertisement of this era helps us to understand the appeal of these apartments to families with children:

> SINGLETON TERRACE FAMILY APARTMENTS NOW COMPLETED
>
> The easy, apartment style of living with the spacious environment and privacy of a separate home is still available at beautiful Singleton Terrace, where R.B. Singleton, the builder and developer, has completed this distinctive apartment development for families.
>
> Mr. Singleton says that choice living units in the final section of Singleton Terrace will be offered Saturday. The apartments, which were designed to resemble individual homes can meet the space and comfort requirements of most sizes of families or couples.
>
> Display apartments representing all apartment sizes--one, two, and three bedroom apartment homes--will be open for inspection from noon until 9 p.m. Saturday, Sunday, and weekdays. Drive four blocks west of the intersection of Donnelly Road and Gentle Valley Avenue, and turn north to Green Glen Drive.
>
> Now that the development is complete, it is easy to see how carefully it was planned to provide a full measure of enjoyable living for all family members. In addition to the spacious lawns, half of the 90 acres of land, on which Singleton Terrace has been built, is devoted to private recreation for residents.

The main section of the recreation area features a large poured concrete swimming pool, measuring 50 by 100 feet in area. It is complete with diving boards, and is surrounded by large sundecks--to provide a choice of healthful exercise or relaxation in pleasant weather.

The rental office is in a large community building which also has a day nursery, bath house, and a community room, to be used exclusively by residents for social activities and meetings. The day nursery is now open to provide care for youngsters.

The nursery is operated by state-licensed personnel and is appreciated by working mothers. Another convenience of the location is the public elementary school, now open on land immediately adjacent to Singleton Terrace.

Throughout the development, and convenient to all apartments, are additional play areas for children. These areas are equiped with playground equipment, tennis and basketball courts and ball diamonds...everything to provide safe recreation near the home while minimizing parental worry.

These many advantages are offered in addition to the lovely family-size apartments, which rent for as little as $100 a month (for single bedroom units) to just $132 monthly for the big three bedroom sizes.

The halls merge with charming foyers, and off the foyer of each unit is the master bedroom with its own walk-in closets and a connecting bathroom. In the larger apartments, a second bedroom is also entered off the foyer.

Facing the foyer is a spacious living area with plenty of dining space for family meals or when entertaining. Book shelves are built into the mahogany paneled wall in this area, and across the rear wall of this part of the apartment, a triple window provides a delightful view of private court yards.

Bedroom and living areas in every unit have attractive hardwood floors. The apartments also feature modern kitchens, full basements (for extra storage or entertainment area) and forced air, gas heat.

The Singleton Terrace apartments provide a fresh new approach to more contented and convenient living. The appearance, comfort, and a setting similar to that of individual, private homes are made more pleasant by a carefree lack of chores.

The location and added amenities are perfect for families with children, but there are many advantages for adults too. The Southtown and Suburban Shopping Centers are within a short drive, and commuting routes are handy. (Metro Gazette, 1-4-65)

One of the first occupants of the Singleton Terrace Apartments was a couple by the name of Keith, who were happy to talk to us about their new apartment in 1964:

> Mr. K: We moved here in 1964 and the apartments were being built at the time. In fact, we had made arrangements with the developer, a fellow by the name of Singleton to complete the building so that, we picked this particular building because of the proximity to the swimming pool.
>
> Obs: I noticed that right across the way.
>
> Mr. K: The rest of the buildings were not even finished yet. Of course, many of the streets were not in. As a matter of fact, there was only one way in and that was down Green Glen, off Donnelly....We were one of the first people here. I think some people might have been here two months before we moved in....So we were down here by ourselves a couple of weeks and then they rented the rest of the building. The following year they completed the other buildings around us, including the streets.
>
> Mrs. K: There were lots of children.
>
> Mr. K: Quite a few children.
>
> Mrs. K: More children than there are now. (11/18/80)

While the Keiths had no children of their own, they seemed to be abreast of the variety of opinions about the innovative Kensington School just a couple blocks away:

> Mr. K: There were quite a few comments from the parents about, I recall talking to some of them. They were concerned about the type of progression that the kid would make in the grades....One family moved away and the daughter was about in 4th grade I believe it was. And went to another school and they said they had a heck of a time trying to establish what grade the child should be in. Of course while they were here at Kensington they were working at their own pace, so to speak.
>
> Mrs. K: I can always remember a real cute story. A little boy lived up in another court, and he came down one day, and I said, "What grade are you in?" And he said, "Oh, I'm not in any grade, I'm a 'transitional!'" (Laughter) I don't know

> whether that was what 1st to 3rd grade or 2nd to 4th or....But I do know there was at one time, a school teacher, well her husband was transferred here, and they lived across the street, and they moved here purposely so that their child could be at Kensington. (11/18/80)

As the Keith's continued, they reflected on the days when children abounded in the neighborhood, and indicated how the United States space race influenced the community make-up at Singleton Terrace:

> Mrs. K: Most of the people here have had children, and I think I said to you before that they just stayed here long enough until they could get a down payment to buy their own homes. However, we had a lot of people from Aviation Industries here, who were transferred--
>
> Mr. K: On the Gemini program, and what was the one before that? The Apollo I believe it was. There were quite a few engineers that were apparently not hired directly by Aviation Industries, but some engineering company.
>
> Obs: Oh yeah, subcontractors.
>
> Mr. K: Like we had a fellow across the street who was from England, the Royal Air Force. He was here for about a year and a half.
>
> Mrs. K: Actually longer, because his children were down here.
>
> Mr. K: Yeah, his children went to school.
>
> Mrs. They like the school very much. They were very pleased.
>
> Mr. K: As a matter of fact, he wanted to stay here, and get out of the Air Force. He worked something out but he did go back to England, and he was transferred to some place in Canada, and then he came by about six months after he moved away, and they were on their way to California. So he got back to the States somehow. But they were impressed with the school as it was. Of course, it was under the original plan with the open classrooms, and their daughter, I believe it was, was in school.
>
> Mrs. K: But we did have more children.

The Keiths went on to talk about the community spirit that developed in their courtyard:

Mrs. K: It just seems as though our particular building has been very congenial.

Mr. K: Very congenial.

Mrs. K: Yes, we have had people move out, but they moved not to other apartments, they either bought homes or they were transferred. They moved to other areas of the county, as their promotions came with their businesses, you know. (Usually they went to) either north or east Suburban County. But as a whole, our particular court has been the envy of this neighborhood, because we have every 4th of July, we have a court picnic. It is very congenial.

Obs: Barbecues and things like that?

Mrs. K: Right.

Mr. K: Yeah, it is.

Mrs. K: We have all ages. But--

Mr. K: Very congenial, and we have keys for a couple of the apartments--other people--and they have our keys, and if anything happens, well, we kind of look out for each other.

Mrs. K: Yeah, we do. In this particular area and the apartments across the street, you know, so therefore we sort of actually have been kind of snobbish maybe, in that we keep to ourselves a little bit more than, you know, wandering all over the area.

Obs: Still, you have once again sort of that community spirit right here on your court.

Mrs. K: Yes, that is true....Yeah, in the summer time is when you see all the people who you have not seen all winter long. We may not all know each other by name, but we recognize each other, and that is about it. What I was speaking about, that was a special relationship we have, like the barbecue that we always have on the 4th of July. Now that has been going on for years. The people that move in--we include them all as far as that goes--If they have relatives in town they can bring them. If they have brothers or sisters or mothers or fathers. I think we had sixty last year.

Obs: That is quite a turn out.

Mr. K: Some of the people have moved away and we invite them back.

Mrs. K: Yeah, we have fireworks too. This year we had so many that we had to go down in the field and shoot them off.

We have a committee that picks out the fireworks every year. We have different people pick out and we take up a collection for fireworks and watermelons, and then everybody brings food.

Obs: Sort of a pot luck.

Mr. K: Yeah, they bring their own meat, hamburgers, hot dogs.

Mrs. K: We don't allow no steaks.

Mr. K: Then a dish of some kind, deviled eggs or a salad or beans or whatever. And we have a croquet set, horseshoes, and then after we eat the meal in the evening then we enjoy a big ball game in the field over there.

Mrs. K: Then everybody goes for a swim and then we have fireworks. That has been going on for years, and years, and years....When there are get togethers, two or three families will get together so to speak, on weekends or in the evenings.

Obs: So would you say that your best friends live in this area?

Mrs. K: Oh well, we have, no, well, I would say--

Mr. K: We are all good friends.

Mrs. K: We are all good friends.

Mrs. K: On the other hand, we respect each other's privacy. And there is nobody making a pest of themselves running back and forth. The girls get together and drink coffee and socialize and help the kids with their homework in the evening, and so right now, one apartment over there, they are fixing up the room in the basement for their daughter.

Obs: Oh--

Mr. K: So I have been going over and help them. Let's see--

Mrs. K: And then when we go away, everybody looks after our place. They take the mail in and all that.

Mr. K: It is a very good neighborhood. (11/18/80)

While Kennerly Heights and Singleton Terrace supplied most of Kensington's pupils, the new school also drew some who lived in Green Glen subdivision and who could attend either Kensington or Marquette Elementary. The Everett family was one who opted for Kensington. The

Everetts, all gathered together for Thanksgiving dinner in 1980, welcomed us into their home to reminisce about the early school and community. The Everetts attended to the community features which stood in sharpest contrast with the present day:

> Mrs. E: Well, (when we moved there it was) "country". Donnelly Road was there. It was a two lane road.
>
> Mr. E: There were truck gardens where most of these apartments are....It really was, well, strictly a White neighborhood then. And it was strictly a lot of Whites. When we moved here there were probably was 15 kids going to school from this circle. Right now there are three little ones next door...going to school. So we were in an area where there were all kinds of kids coming out of every one of these houses right in line. Now we have no kids.
>
> Mrs. E: You know we would say "BUS!" and all the doors would open up.
>
> Daughter: Everybody was young.
>
> First Son: Then when Kensington started up there was only the one small group of apartments right around here. Since then they have built, you know, Singleton Terrace expanded, and it was all just apartment complexes, three or four different apartment complexes. (11/27/80)

Mrs. Tierney was another who lived in Green Glen at the time Kensington was built and had a child attending in the opening year. She shared some of her initial pride in the school, and described how the middle class values of the community worked in consort with the schools:

> Mrs. T: I liked the architecture of the school. That really impressed me. In fact, when the kids started going there, we used to take all our friends down there and say, "Look at this school that our kids are going to"....When my kids went there, it was kind of like a middle class community, and the kids went to school with the idea that they are to learn, and if they don't, then they will get it at school, and then they will also get it at home. They were disciplined at home. I mean, if they called and said, you know, your child was really behaving badly, you know, they knew that it was going to be taken care of at home. (11/12/80)

Another long term resident of Singleton Terrace, Miss Flannigan, was a teacher at Milford's Hillside School and a member of St. Matthew's parish in 1964. Miss Flannigan talked about the crowded Catholic community which attended St. Matthew's during these growth years:

> Miss. F: The school hall was a big, barnish, open, cathedral ceiling type of hall type thing. It was nothing but a big gym. We went to Church in the school hall, and I hated it with a passion, because there was never enough room. They had six or seven masses on Sunday, and if I would go to 11:00 or 12:00 mass, you had standing room only unless you got there quite a bit early. Then what we had was a case of about every aisle even with standing room only, even if you got there early enough you got a seat half way, then you had people up and down each aisle. The two middle aisles and two rows of people down the middle, because they would stand next to the pews. Then you had people going down each side, so you could never see what was going on in the front. The people in the back standing around there they were so darned noisey all the time. It was the teenagers who would come hanging in, at least they reported to church, and momma saw them, and then they took off and they played. (11/14/80)

Miss Flannigan, who requested and was denied a transfer to Kensington, told of the more general resentment that Kensington stirred in the district, including the consequences of what we have called the "protected subculture":

> Miss F: But let me back up a minute to Kensington when we first opened it over here. Tell you a little bit about that.. Kensington at that time was special, you know, brand new school. Midvale was built at the same time without all the things that Kensington had. Kensington had a little bit more. There was a lot of resentment, and they decided that they were going to have Kensington as being a special school with team teaching, ungraded type system....Well, I remember at the time that I had placed a request for a transfer. Quite a few in the district did. The answer we got was that we were so used to teaching one way. Now, I had only taught three years, and I was too old to change my style? They brought in the cream of the crop from across the country. There was a lot of resentment at that time. I guess none of us were that sorry when the program failed....Therefore (Central Office thought), us teachers who had been here for so long, we could not be

untrained to teach the ungraded way, we are so used to the closed classroom situations. So they went outside and hired an outside principal and outside people, who were paid outside the salary schedule. And that was supposed to be because they worked more than we did because of all the planning sessions they had like on Saturday morning, you know, this kind of stuff. Therefore there was a lot of resentment about Kensington. They got, for instance, 30 sets of encyclopedias, where another school may have only got one set. They got the carpeting, of course they got it free through the manufacturer, because it was a test carpet and this kind of stuff. And it did last for many, many years...You know a lot of emphasis was put on Kensington, a lot of visitors came....Well, I think a lot of other schools, like myself, felt like we were, well, we were left out in the cold. So that kind of set the stage for things. Then he had what I call "outsiders," no one who taught in the district, were brought in to teach there. Then gradually that was not working out, the principal left and what have you, and others left after one year and what have you....The faculty that was at Kensington at that time, the first year and second year, I don't know which one stayed, but very few of those people stayed within the district. Most of them stayed for that year or two, but most of them left and went to parts unknown. Those people, and I'm not throwing stones, but I don't think those people really cared that much about our district, as much as some of us who have been here, you know, 15 or 20 years. They did not live in the area. At that time the faculty was made of a few educational snobs. Shall I call them pseudo-intellectuals. You know, in the sense that they came in and taught, and they were guiders of the kids, not so much as teachers, but kind of guide them through the programs. And the kids learned on their own. The kid had to fend for himself, and they did pick their own curriculum. If they chose not to do math today, it didn't matter....Elementary kids are not capable of making a decision like that, and they should not have been free to do so, I feel now.

Obs: Did either of you meet Eugene Shelby? The principal who was down there the first couple of years.

Miss F: I think I met him at a meeting or something, but no, they stayed away from the rest of us. They really were isolated....See, I was at Hillside Elementary then teaching 4th grade. When Steven Spanman came we did have quite a few curriculum meetings with him and the teachers, but at that time the teachers all knew each other. The rest of us knew each other, but we didn't know the Kensington people. They didn't really mix with us. So there was that isolation factor that really was a kind of stinger to the rest of us.
(11/14/80)

Considerable controversy surrounded the Kensington School on many fronts, and one particularly criticized aspect was the building itself. The Everett family voiced the complaint we heard most about the Kensington building, the "covered play shelter":

> Mrs. E: The only thing I can remember really wanting is that gym enclosed, and they finally did it way after our children were out of it. I thought that was the most ridiculous thing, it was an open air center. You know the kids had to go out there for gym, and it was cold.
>
> Daughter: It was pretty cold during the winter.
>
> First Son: The problem was again, there was kind of a screw up. All the heaters never worked right.
>
> Second Son: The heaters were undersized.
>
> First Son: Yeah, they were undersized but supposedly it was designed--the heat from above--in the gymnasium. But when it was 0 degrees outside and the wind was blowing we had to go outside and play in that. (11/27/80)

While Spanman surely had his detractors, he also won the admiration and respect of others. Irma Hauser,[22] veteran teacher from the Gordonville system of the 1920's, was one of the few Milford teachers transferred to Kensington and the only original faculty member in the school after two years. Mrs. Hauser remembered Superintendent Spanman with high regard and summed up what she perceived to be Spanman's problem:

> Mrs. H: I think he was a brilliant man, and I thought his ideas were marvelous, and I think they were workable if he had had the community to back him--I really do. I think the concept of the open school--as open as we had it--was too mature for young children. I think most of them couldn't handle it very well. (9/27)

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[22] In Anatomy she was coded as Mrs. Irma Hall.

The principal at Kensington, Eugene Shelby, was handpicked by superintendent Spanman. Mrs. Tierney's views of Shelby and the Kensington program are typical of many parents with whom we spoke:

> Mrs. T: The Principal was Eugene Shelby. I can remember him having a meeting down there and my husband and I attending, and thinking, "I don't think I have ever had an experience like this before." Because his way was "What the kids want to do is what is going to take place." If they want to play or fly airplanes all day, which I heard that in one class they did, they just made paper airplanes in school all day, or if they wanted to fish in the fish pond, it was fine. I think it last about six months, and then they finally decided that it was not going to work....I was willing to give it a try because I thought...I will do what I can at home, but the teachers, when they have them in school, that is theirs, and the way they want to teach is fine with me.
>
> Obs: Okay, so what kind of stories did your son come home with, say in his first six months?
>
> Mrs. T: "I got lost changing classes!" In fact, they changed classes just like they did in the high school, which was, I thought, pretty much responsibility for a six year old. You know. Because they were just bee bopping along, la-da-dah-dah, and naturally he got lost. He came home lots of times, saying in the middle of the day, "I could not find my next room," so I would have to take him back down there, and find the next room. But he was a quiet child always. He still is. He did pretty well. He liked it more when they had more discipline I think.
>
> Obs: Oh, I see. So that unstructured,"anything goes" didn't really mesh with his personality and his way of doing things.
>
> Mrs. T: Right, he is the type, all three of mine are different, but all three of them are the kind, and I think with most kids, you have to say, "You have to sit down and you have to do it." You can't say, "Go ahead, you can fish for awhile if you want to," or whatever, because naturally they are going to fish.
>
> Obs: So you said that this plan, "Let the kids do whatever they liked" went on about six months. How did it change after that?
>
> Mrs. T: I think the parents had a lot to do with it. I mean, you know, they came down and said, "I don't want my child flying airplanes all day," or, you know, "When he is supposed

> to be having math class," and whatever. I think that had a lot to do with it. That and the fact that I think they found out that it just wasn't going to work. (11/12/80)

Irma Hauser offered another view from the inside of Kensington during its innovative years:

> Mrs. H: Well, the first year was quite traumatic to me...I was very humbled I think when Eugene has asked me to go and he was at Marquette--was my principal there.
>
> Obs: So you had taught with him for that one year, I guess?
>
> Mrs. H: Yes, and, uh, so I felt like I could handle it. But I didn't realize how traditional I was at first. And the faculty itself was quite unusual to say the least. And, uh, well, of course you were there all the time, you know, the terrible time we had getting started. So I think the first year was rather bad. It's the first time I ever thought I didn't like teaching, and if I could have turned to anything else, I would have....However, the second year I think I really enjoyed it. I got my feet on the ground a little more and the way became a little less experimental, I guess it was. But I enjoyed it so much, the openness of the building. I really enjoyed that. And being able to plan and work with other teachers. So, I liked that.
>
> Obs: Did you continue teaming in much the same way, or how did things go that...?
>
> Mrs. H: Yes, very much. That is, we had six rooms all together. I don't even recall the terminology that we used too much. I think that was "Individual"?, uh...
>
> Obs: Independent Study. (9/29/79)

The three Everett children, now two engineers and an accountant, all transfered from Marquette to Kensington in 1964. They offered these reflections on the transition:

> Daughter: Well, a lot of the teachers from Marquette all thought it (Kensington) was good. I mean, the school was just built up and that was really a thing that we wanted to do.
>
> Mrs. E: Yeah, I thought of all the new, modern equipment that they were having, or the films.

Daughter: Theatre

Mrs. E: The library was supposed to have been sensational. Exposed them to all that.

Obs: So it looked like it was an education Utopia. Were all of you in school in 1964 when it opened?

Second Son: Yes, we weren't in the school because it wasn't done at the beginning of the school.

Obs: I guess, what was it, around December or there abouts when the building was completed and you could go back there? What was it like, say, those first couple of months of school?

First Son: Chaotic....You know, we had--5th and 6th graders--we had all our classes in the gymnasium at Central Junior High. It was, you know, kind of crazy.

Obs: What about when you moved to Kensington. Do you remember that?

Second Son: It was still unorganized. It was a brand new school.

Daughter: It was not all completed yet.

Second Son: No, there was still work going on too. It was a little bit different.

Obs: How was the education there different from what you had at Marquette? Can you recall any difference, or was it pretty much the same?

Second Son: Well, Marquette was a traditional classroom type thing. You know, you had one group of people that you were with all the time. There were about 20-30 kinds in the rooms...and you know, you did everything with that group. In this thing (Kensington), the 4th, 5th, and 6th graders kind of mingled around with different classes, different groups and...

Daughter: Yeah, everything was put up in groups, like reading there was group one, two, three; Math group one, two three. So if you were really good in one area you could be in group one.

Second Son: You could actually be in a class with 6th graders even though you were a 4th grader.

Obs: Did they call it grades at the time, like 6th grade and 5th grade?

> First Son: They kind of broke it down into "divisions" in all those areas. You still, you know, you were still a 6th grader, and everyone knew you were a 6th grader....They were big on kind of independent things too.
>
> Obs: Could you give me an example of what some thing you remember as an independent thing or kind of learning?
>
> Daughter: Remember those reading machines they had?
>
> First Son: Yeah, they had reading machines
>
> Second Son: One of the things that they had were special math books which were called SRA books....You would just open it and work a problem and they would give you three answers, and you would pick your answer, and turn to the page and if it was right, it would say, "Very good, you did this right, go on to the next page."
>
> Daughter: You worked at your own pace.
>
> Second Son: Yeah, you were working at your own pace....If you were wrong you would turn back to one page, and it would say, "This is why it was wrong. Try this again." And you would turn to the next page. It was work at your own pace, and if you were slower you could, I guess, you know, the teachers gave you more prodding to increase, you know, to get through this book by a certain date, but if you were ambitious you could do it quickly. (11/27/80)

One of the skills the Everett children acquired at Kensington was proficiency in the library. They didn't seem to remember the term "perception core":

> First Son: We had a lot of writing, a lot of in-class writing to do. I remember doing a lot of research in the library.
>
> Obs: Now that was just during the first couple of years when Shelby was there.
>
> First Son: Yeah, they taught you how to use the library real early. And then they would give you something to write on (topic), and then you would have to go out and go to the library on your own and try to find out where it was. Find your topic and actually write papers.
>
> Daughter: But they made you use the library in the first or second grade. At least, you knew where the books were and stuff like that. (11/27/80)

Miss Flannigan, who became a librarian at Central Junior High in the mid 1960's, confirmed the proficiency in the research skills of the Kensington children who showed up at Central in the following years:

> Obs: Okay, let me kind of shift the focus a little bit. I recall in our phone conversation the other evening, you said something in effect, that you were able to pick who the Kensington students were, here at the Junior High, once upon a time.
>
> Miss F: Yes, we could.
>
> Obs: Could you just elaborate on that, and tell me a little bit about that?
>
> Miss F: Well, being the librarian at that time, because these kids were used to working on their own, and they had a full time librarian there and as opposed to the other school that did not have one....Since they had a full time librarian, these kids knew what a card catalogue was, and they knew how to use it. They also knew how to use a readers guide. They also knew how to use different other things. They knew how to search because they were accustomed to looking on their own. As opposed to the other schools where you had sort of a closed situation, as far as the classroom was concerned, self-contained classrooms. They went to the library or "resource center" once a week or something, and then there was a volunteer mother that helped them.

Statements, such as those of Miss Flannigan, suggest that Kensington may have made a difference with many students. The Everett children, however, gave mixed reviews to their early Kensington educational experiences. On balance, the innovative program seemed to have minimal effects on their educational careers:

> Obs: If I may ask in a general way, what was your overall impression of Kensington experience has been? What stands out most, and for better or worse, just a general lingering impression?
>
> First Son: I guess it didn't matter much. Personally, I don't think it mattered much. I'm a self-motivator, and I would do well no matter where I was. So, it was a good school, but any school probably would have been just as good for me.

> Second Son: I think I pretty much agree with that. Some of the things which I would remember as being neat from the school--just the opportunity, if you were an achiever, you could be in classes with older students. You could be in the 4th grade, and 5th grade, reading class, 5th grade math class. It gave you a neat feeling. I guess it was more of an ego thing even then. It was still a neat experience being able to do that. I think it did motivate you to improve more. Again, like I said earlier, I think overall the school itself did not really shape your life one way or another. I think for highly motivated kids it was super, for kids that really could not care less about school, I think it was probably a deficit. Again, I think the real thing to shape your life was the environment that you are growing up in. I have fond memories of the school. I enjoyed the teachers very much....There were, you know in thinking back of kids that I grew up in grade school with, and went on to junior high and senior high, I remember, well, I made a lot of friends all the way through school, and I remember a lot of my friends from grade school went on to be in the upper level of math classes and things. I also had a lot of friends that just never did very well in school. They were never taught the basic essentials in school....If they would have been in a structured education they would have learned those things....A good friend of mine never really, you know, he took every opportunity not to do work. He would run around, and he ended up being one of these guys who went on and made it through high school just by the minimum. At Kensington you could do that very easily.
>
> Daughter: I always compete with my brothers. (Laughter) I always tried to do as good as they do. I guess the thing that I remember the most is just being able to work on my own a lot. I was always real school oriented, so I always wanted to work ahead. I was always working ahead and everything else. I think it helped me, but I don't know if I would have been any different if I went anywhere else or not. I probably would have been more bored in a different school.
>
> Obs: But you weren't bored down there?
>
> Daughter: No, I don't think you were ever really bored in school. I have got friends who have done very good from Kensington. I guess if you, well, the way a lot of the teachers were down there, is that they were really interested in the student who was a self-motivator. (11/27/80)

Finally, the Everetts turned to some additional reasons for Kensington's falling short of its expectations, and then went on to describe the political consequences of Spanman's visions:

Mr. E: But didn't they go back to more and more traditional as you got older?

Second Son: Well, one of the things, one of the, I think, one of the reasons Kensington didn't succeed as much as it could have is that a lot of the programs which started off the first year or two years were grants from different corporations, and when the corporations were through, their money, a lot of these programs fell through.

First Son: Yeah, like a lot of the audio-visual programs.

Second Son: Yeah, they had all kinds of audio visual equipment at the very start, and a lot of these things were I think long range goals that they had hoped these things would continue, but for one reason or another...

Daughter: They had all that library stuff, for elementary school.

Mrs. E: Oh, it was money the district didn't approve, being one school having it all, and all the other grade schools not. The district could not pass a bond issue.

Mr. E: You don't know the controversy. See, they made their biggest mistake when they put carpeting on the floors. Remember that? The district at that time, was big on controversy. You know, everybody was interested in the schools and we were all younger then....But every bond issue and everything else you would hear about that damn Kensington School, with their carpeting and air conditioning and no other school has that. So I think they almost had to tear out the carpeting.

First Son: Milford went about ten years without passing a tax levy.

Mrs. E: I think it hurt to some extent.

Mr. E: It hurt the district on passing levies, because they kept pointing at Kensington School.

Obs: Now, was this like in the local newspapers or...?

Mr. E: Oh yeah.

Mrs. E: I can remember writing an article to the editor after we had lost our second or third bond issue. Stressing that if they would only check the facts, all this was given as gifts through corporations... (11/27/80)

Steven Spanman took a leave of absence from Milford in 1965. He never returned. Eugene Shelby left Kensington in February of 1966 and was replaced by Michael Edwards, former principal at Field School since 1956. Three months later, and after an interim superintendent, Ron George moved into the vacant superintendent slot, a position he has held to the present day.

American hopes in the space race were stirred by the successful launching of the communications satellite Telstar the year Spanman became Superintendent of Milford. 1962 was also the year that the daughter of Frank Roberts Chester moved from the family estate, ending 150 years of family history in Milford. The old home was donated to the County Department of Parks which restored the building and made it an historic site. During Spanman's tenure, the transition from Kennedy's New Frontier to Johnson's Great Society showed continued commitment to ameliorating social problems, and billions of federal dollars were spent on programs such as VISTA and Medicare. Education became a big beneficiary of the Great Society when the Elementary and Secondary Education Acts raised federal support from $5 billion to $12 billion between 1965 and 1967. The Vietnam war also began in the Spanman era. By the end of 1965 the number of United States troops in Southeast Asia totaled 180,000. This number nearly doubled the following year. Local defense contractors operated at full production levels, and the jobs of many Milford residents were indeed secure.

In 1964, the year Kensington opened, many milestones were achieved by Black Americans in their century long struggle for equality since Emancipation. Martin Luther King's Nobel Peace Prize, and the passage of the Civil Rights Act were an important part of the context of Kensington's founding. The Civil Rights Act prohibited discrimination in public accomodations and private employment, and expedited the desegregation of public schools across the country. At the time of our return visit to Kensington, 1979, the Gordonville School District had recently been ordered by the courts to reorganize for violation of the Civil Rights Act. Gordonville's neighbor, Milford, was itself on the brink of legal challenges over its compliance with this law. As our chronicle continues, we shall have more to say about these circumstances and the changing racial composition of the virtually all White Milford we first encountered in 1964.

6.2 The Golden Years: 1966 to 1972

During this six year period, the Kensington School quickly stabilized and enjoyed its greatest success and effectiveness according to nearly everyone we talked with. All but one of the teachers from the Shelby era had departed, and a new group of teachers, mostly from within the district, replaced them. During the principalship of Michael Edwards, the Kensington program was modified significantly. And while becoming more in line with community and district standards, it still retained a number of innovative vestiges from the Shelby era, and even managed to create a few novel approaches itself.

Kensington's "best" years were set in a context that can hardly be characterized as "golden". During the remainder of the Johnson presidency, the "Great Society" witnessed race riots in several urban areas. In 1968, the dreams of Blacks were shattered when Martin Luther

King was slain by an assassin in Memphis. Soon the nation would again reel from the news that Robert F. Kennedy met the same fate. The poverty of the Black American was only exceeded by that of the American Indian, who suffered a ten-fold greater incidence of unemployment and suicide than the nation as a whole. In 1968, Native Americans seized and occupied the island of Alcatraz to publicize their cause. Four years later, during the Nixon administration, Indians occupied and vandalized the Bureau of Indian Affairs building in the nation's capitol. Later in 1972, members of the American Indian Movement occupied the hamlet of Wounded Knee, South Dakota, site of an Indian massacre by the United States Cavalry in 1890. Other forms of protest flared up in response to United States involvement in Vietnam. In 1968, the number of American soldiers in Southeast Asia reached a half million, and the imminent victory of the United States forces was seriously questioned by the powerful Tet Offensive staged by North Vietnam. At the democratic convention in Chicago, Johnson's vice president and supporter of the military effort won the nomination. Outside in the streets, the Chicago police clubbed protesters as a nation watched on television.

Hubert Humphrey was defeated in the elections, and during Nixon's first term in office, the announcement that the United States was executing bombing missions in Cambodia sparked protests on college campuses all across the nation. The killing of students at Kent State and Jackson State was one of many of the shocking responses to protest which further divided young and old Americans. In the early 1970's, legal challenges against the continuing practice of racial segregation in schools across the nation effected mandatory busing by the courts to achieve integration. Resistance, sometimes violent, was, surprisingly, most pronounced in the north.

One event in Milford's context during the "Golden Years" that was particularly significant to the many Milford residents was the realization of John F. Kennedy's promise to put a man on the moon before the end of the 60's decade. When Kensington was five years old, Neil Armstrong proclaimed before television audiences world-wide, "one small step for man, one giant leap for mankind". This was surely gratifying for those in the Milford community employed at Aviation Industries and its subcontractors and who contributed to this historic achievement.

In retrospect, the Spanman era appears as a short detour on a straight course originating deep in Milford's roots. Spanman's successor, Dr. Ronald George, came up through the Milford ranks as a teacher, then a principal, and finally superintendent. As a teacher, Ron George distinguished himself for his leadership in the teachers' association, and his outspoken criticism of the Milford Board of Education on their handling of Mr. McBride's removal.[23] Miss Flannigan was one who was around in this era, and who described the changes that Ron George underwent after rising to the superintendency:

> Miss F: Well, you know years ago Ron was the most militant person you ever saw. He fought the administration up one side and down the other, and you talk about the most vocal person in a meeting, he was the one who always stood in the back and started yelling about this and yelling about that and what have you. But just as soon as he finished his doctorate and

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[23] We describe these acrimonious proceedings in greater detail in Volume II of this larger report.

> he got his job as principal for three months over here at Field and then he got his job as superintendent back in 1966....That year when he put on that hat of superintendent he then changed to the other side of the fence. And now he has no understanding. I said it to his face, "You have no understanding of why the teachers are vocal about wanting more pay." You know, of course he is a superintendent, he is the agent for the Board of Education who in turn are the ones paying us, and as such you might say he thinks of it as coming out of his pocket I think sometimes. And he is a penny pincher. You know, we started out with our "economy" year #1 that year. And now it is "Economy year #15". And he wants teachers to go along with that as far as salaries as well. And he has a closed mind. (11/14/80)

Irma Hauser was another who was employed by Milford at this time. Her memories accented the continuities between the McBride and George administrations:

> Mrs. H: By the way, Ron George had also been for a little while at Marquette teaching when the (Junior High) school that he was teaching in was not completed one year. It seems so funny to me that he could have risen to that, but he was handpicked by McBride, Ron George. Oh, yes, he was. And he had enough influence at the school board, it was the school board that wanted McBride out of the way....(When) different ones were--his men were elected--McBride's men. Yes. He primed Ron for that job. Without a doubt. (9/29/79)

As Mrs. Hauser continued talking about the leadership transition in 1966, she naturally turned to the changes in Kensington's principals. After contrasting Eugene Shelby with Michael Edwards, she goes on to desribe some of the attendent changes at the Kensington School:

> Mrs. H: Eugene was fine--I don't know how to describe Eugene really, I really don't. Because he was very determined often in doing exactly what he wanted to do. And still on the other hand, I always felt he was available and on the whole I liked his ideas very much. I felt sorry for Eugene. I think he was bucking the whole school district and had a bad time. But he was appreciated, by his teachers, I think....Michael Edwards though was a prince, he really was. He was just a delightful man to work with. And I don't know just how to describe the relationship. He was--everybody was extremely fond of him, I

> mean the faculty, and the children too. I don't think the children likeed Eugene Shelby as a whole.... But now Mike Edwards was loved by the children and he was loved by every faculty member.
>
> Obs: You mentioned that Mr. Edwards was a prince--how did that get exhibited in day-to-day relationships with you and with the other teachers?
>
> Mrs. H: He was extremely considerate of everyone. He was personally interested and I think he was a gentleman from the word go. And there was nothing sham about him. He was just made of finest fire--he really was. For instance, if one were not feeling very well physically...he would be the kind who would want you to take three or four days instead of one day if it were necessary....And he would sit down and plan with us and talk with us. I think he would tell us what he thought was the best things to do, but again he would always take the teachers' advice under consideration. I never heard of anyone having any kind of disagreement with him that wasn't resolved immediately....He was just a fine fellow....We had such good relationships among the entire faculty while he was there and I was there....He was never too busy to talk to you. And hear what you had to say. And still, uh, we had many meetings of the entire faculty that were congenial. I found it quite rewarding....I believe he (Edwards) worked closer with the administration because there were some partitions that were put up between classrooms that the teachers wanted especially. I'm thinking of the primary grades. They did some partitioning I know. And my feeling about it was that it had become more team teaching than just an open atmosphere. I think he felt that it had been too relaxed when he came.... After Eugene left, it wasn't long before we departmentalized. And I found that quite rewarding. We worked in a different way. One year I taught math all year. Another year I taught reading a whole year, another year social studies, and so forth. But, I liked that. (9/29/29)

The Everett children also noted some of the change and continuity evident in the change of principals at Kensington:

> Obs: What is your impression of Mr. Edwards? How do you remember him?
>
> Daughter: He was really good I remember. I just remember he was strict. I think kids were more scared of him than Mr. Shelby. No one was ever scared of Mr. Shelby. Mr. Edwards was more like a principal, as you would think of a principal.

> Second Son: Well, again I think when Mr. Shelby left he already was able to foresee that these things, the money was starting to dry up, a lot of the programs were churning to a halt, and Mr. Edwards then moved in and kind of started to restore some of the traditional district policies, and things like that, for one reason or another....Still, you had pretty much of a free roam in a lot of cases. The classes were structured, but whenever you wanted to, you could just go out to the library and do self-study. (11/27/80)

Mrs. Tierney was another who remarked about the changes that came with the appointment of Mr. Edwards:

> Obs: So how did, say, Jimmy's education seem to change after that kind of...?
>
> Mrs. T: Well, he was bringing home homework. It didn't really change drastically. You know, they were saying, "Now you have to do this and now you have to do that." They still had the three teachers and whatever but they kind of all grouped together, and said, "You are going to do this this time of day, and that that time of day, and you are not going to be out there fishing in the fish pond when you are supposed to be reading."
>
> Obs: So there was some tightening of or making it a little more structured, but still it had kind of a freedom.
>
> Mrs. T: Yeah.
>
> Obs: Did Jimmy bring home books at all his first grade?
>
> Mrs. T: No, not at the first grade, about third grade he started.
>
> Obs: How did you feel about that as a parent with no books in a school?
>
> Mrs. T: I could not understand, you know, I don't think they really had very many books to begin with. You have to give a child something that he can see, you know. Even yourself, you have to see what you are going to learn, you can't, you know, unless they just kept repeating and repeating it and repeating it.
>
> Obs: So how did Jimmy feel about going from no books to books?

> Mrs. T: Kind of a novelty. You know, "We have got an arithmetic book, can you believe this?" (Laughter) ....He was kind of pleased with the idea. "Look we have got books!" (11/12/80)

Mr. Edwards took charge at Kensington in February of 1966. By the fall of 1966, Edwards had assembled nearly an entirely new teaching staff. When we spoke with two teachers hired by Edwards that year, we learned more about the changes:

> Teacher: The kids were not allowed to make as many choices. (In Shelby's era) they were allowed to make choices all day long. And choices in important things such as "Do I want to go to math class today, or do I want to go out and play?" And if they wanted to go out and play, they played. The first year I was there and we divided up for classes, there were three of us, and the first morning when we changed (students) "You go here for this class, here for that class," half of our group went out the door. I said, "Where are you going?" I ran after them. "We're going for fishing poles." I said, "No, you're not. What do you want fishing poles for?" "Oh, we're going down to the creek to fish." And they all came back in and we started to ask questions.
>
> Obs: So was that tightened up then?
>
> Teacher: Oh yeah, right away. We simply did that. "You may go out at recess time and we'll do that, but you don't have that choice now. We will go to math class when it's time. We will go to social studies class when it's time."
>
> Obs: Now, was that Mr. Edward's influence, or the teachers' influence?
>
> Teacher: At that point it was teachers'. We went to him and said, "This is what happened, and this is what we did at the moment." And I can remember the three of us talking to him about it, and he said, "Oh no, the kids will have class" ....Once we said to the kids, "This is the way we're going to do it now, we're all new and this is what we've decided to do." There was nothing else, we did it that way. And the amazing part of this, the kids never said--or very seldom said, "But last year we...." I always found that very amazing.
>
> Obs: So they adjusted and adapted quite easily.

> Teacher: Yeah, and another thing I remember is when I passed out textbooks, the kids were terribly excited, "This is my book?" "Yes, it's your book." "And I get to keep it all year?" "All year." They really liked that textbook that they could keep in their desk. (1980)

These instructional modifications appear to have been carried out swiftly and smoothly. They endured throughout Edwards' first six years. The District curriculum guidelines were followed to a greater extent than in Shelby's era. Teachers did more teaching, and students' learning activities were more scheduled and less independent. With these changes, the "Curriculum Center" and "Perception Core," where individualized learning materials were filed and used, took on a more library-like quality, and was renamed "Resource Center." Changes notwithstanding, we are told that Edwards was enamored of much of what he saw at Kensington at the end of the Shelby era. The "Continuous Progress" philosophy that ignored grade levels, and instead referred to three "divisions"--Basic Skills, Transition, and Independent Study--persisted throughout the Golden Age of Edwards. "Team Teaching"[24] in vast open space "suites" also continued. Each division was assisted by a teaching aide.

In 1969, four years after the opening of the Kensington School, Mr. Edwards produced a document entitled "The first 1000 days." Here we find more evidence of the continuities with Kensington's innovative beginnings:

---

[24] The term "Team Teaching" denoted a departmentalized instructional process where groups of teachers would specialize in certain areas and switch students.

> I am not certain as to all the changes that have taken place with the student organization from day 43 to day 321 to day 903, but I will attempt to present a general description of the total time. Students are placed into three divisions in this manner:
>
> Basic Skills for 1st and 2nd year students and as the title implies, the emphasis is on the basic skills--Reading and Communication and Mathematics. During this two year period, we hope to lay the foundation by developing the skills necessary to communicate through the printed words, oral expression, the written word and the earlier computational skills.
>
> The middle division is called Transition and is very significant in my opinion. This two year period of 3rd and 4th year students so often is the critical time when students do master and some do not master the skill areas. By placing the students and staff in this type organization, we hope to decrease the number of "do nots." I have the feeling that the gap between "primary" and "intermediate" needs a bridge and this two year time period may help complete the span.[25]
>
> The last two years of a student's career at Kensington would be spent in the Independent Study Division, and as the name implies is designed to help the student attain a degree of independence. The goal for these 5th and 6th year students is to continue to develop and refine the tools and to apply them to all learning experiences.
>
> The term "Ungraded" has been used in connection with the school, and if the reader feels the organizational pattern meets their definition of ungraded--fine. I feel more comfortable with the continuous progress theory and would prefer to think in this vein. Our organizational pattern does permit free movement of students for instructional needs as determined by the staff. Students may spend a portion of the day in an area other than his usual assignment and may be doing work below or beyond, in an effort to meet his needs. Individualizing instruction is the basic goal for this type of student organization. (Doc., 1969)

During Edwards' first six years there were changes in the physical plant, but these occurred more slowly than curricular change. A wall was constructed in the Basic Skills division, and the "Covered Play

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[25] We note a modification here for Transition has become a two year span rather than the earlier one year period.

Shelter" had its open northwesterly face sealed with brick. "The coldest place on God's earth," as a teacher put it, became a gymnasium and lunchroom. The "Aquarium" was drained when carpet lint continued to clog the pumping system. Such physical changes, however, did little to alter the overwhelmingly "open" quality of the Kensington School. Visitors continued to flow through the building, but in smaller trickles. The principal who scheduled their visits was much more casual about the tour and program the visitors received. Once again from Edwards' "First 1000 Days" we find both his perception and his causal reasoning, of the programatic and architectual interdependencies of the school:

> The accoustical value of carpeting is most evident with the movement of students during their daily educational adventures. The aesthetic value is evident in the way the children react to the more pleasant atmosphere. The movement of equipment is less distracting without the bump bump and jangle jangle of metal and concrete. Flexibility is accorded students to use the floor in small or large groups for--listening to a story; attending an assembly; planning an activity; reading groups; viewing the chalkboard in instructional groups--plus countless other ways.
>
> The use of carpeting in the building allows orderly permissiveness; if that last word causes raised eyebrows, please let me explain. I feel strongly that children must have freedom, and I think that is orderly permissiveness, but not without respect and responsibility. Carpeting alone does not achieve this goal but it does assist; it adds to the total. Unmistakably, the philosophy implied here is caught and taught by the total staff and the operation of the school program. At the same time, I want the reader to understand that I feel the carpeting does assist the staff in the realization of this goal. (Doc., 1969)

Michael Edwards, as various people have described him, would still qualify as an innovator, though not of the "alternative of grandeur" style of Spanman and Shelby. While Edwards himself came up with new ideas, he also encouraged his staff to experiment. Mrs. Moore was working at Kensington during the "Golden Years" and she provided an example of such an enterprise designed to improve relations between Kensington and its parochial neighbor, St. Matthew's:

> Mrs. M: I had this idea where I said to him, "You know it is bad that we don't work in the community, like going to St. Matthew's Church." Okay, and I thought this would really be nice, it would really benefit the community if we shared things like with schools around us that aren't in Milford and I asked him if we could invite like St. Matthew's staff down here and maybe we could go up there and we could share things. It would really make for a much better feeling in the community. As a Catholic myself I know what they think. They think all public schools are rotten, and all public kids are even more rotten, and all public school teachers are looney. He said, "Oh, that really is a good idea."....So we invited the staff from St. Matthew down here and we were all--all the teachers thought that was really super, we were all fired up. Two nuns came! I remember that, two nuns came, and it was if, "Boy, they made us come down here," you know, "the darn superior made me come!" It was that kind of feeling. But that didn't stop him, and he arranged for us to go to Gordonville which had just built that new school....We went out there to observe one day....The whole staff went over there. We walked through the school and we could do anything we wanted to, observe, and whatnot. Then he arranged for us to go over to, they built that new school over in Western State, and it really got a lot of publicity, and he arranged for us to go over there....We did get speakers in. We got a psychology professor, I can't think of his name. He came over. He was really a good speaker. (5/24/80)

The Everett children described another of Edwards' innovations; one which maintained some of the spirit of the original Kensington program, but was more acceptable to a conservative community:

> Daughter: Don't you remember the (school) song? We were all together, we had our school colors. Don't you remember? You were president of the school.
>
> Second Son: I was the president of the school!

> Daughter: They had like Student Council, like in the grade school, you know, we had student representatives....The Student Council thing was a big thing for elementary school.
>
> Obs: You know they don't have that now, so I would be interested in knowing a little bit about that....You were the president, Paul?
>
> Second Son: Believe it or not.
>
> Obs: But they had like a student council or something like that?
>
> Second Son: They had patrol boys and all that stuff.
>
> First Son: He was also the president of the Student Council in high school.
>
> Second Son: Yeah, Kensington really started me off in politics. (Laughter)
>
> Daughter: But students would vote on things in the class, who was the representative. We voted on our school colors. School colors were purple and white.
>
> Second Son: Yeah, we picked purple and white.
>
> Daughter: You know, they would try to get you going on this voting thing. We had regular elections for stuff, representatives for homeroom.
>
> Obs: Was that in operation when Mr. Shelfy was there?
>
> First Son: This was with Mr. Edwards. (11/27/80)

As the Everetts continue, we learn of another significant change in the Kensington teaching staff:

> Mr. E: Remember when they got that Black teacher in 4th grade? I think it was this basketball star's wife. And he (Edwards) was very secretive and said, "Well, she is Black, but she is real light." (Laughter) Yeah, that was a big deal...It was the first Black teacher in the district, because we had no Black students then....About 1970 they got her. (11/27/80)

The Luebbert family moved into the Kensington attendance area in 1969. Mrs. Luebbert's oldest child was entering the first grade that year. She shared with us some of her first impressions of Kensington:

> Mrs. L: We had moved in back into Metropolitan City--we were living out of town--so, it was September of 1969. We moved into an apartment in Singleton Terrace to start with, close to Kensington Elementary and we moved down there because my husband works at Dynamic Electric....Calvin was 6. He had gone to kindergarten in New York. One of the reasons that we moved back to the midwest was because of the school situation. You know, he went to school three hours in kindergarten, and was bused an hour and a half in the public school system, so that was one of the reasons. I said, "I don't care, just get me closer to the midwest," and we moved back to Metropolitan City, and Calvin was 6, so he was going into 1st grade....And to be honest, we had really wanted to enroll him in St. Matthew's, and that was one of the years they must have had 60, maybe, I think they did have two 1st grades, but there was a waiting list. So he did go on the waiting list. But I enrolled him in Kensington at the time....And you know, when I went to enroll him, of course you looked at the school, you know, I just thought this was gorgeous. You know, I didn't have any idea at the time of how the open environment worked or anything....But with the open environment and team teaching --I was really impressed....Just the looks of the building inside. Then it was still kept up nice, but it was much newer and it was quiet....You actually had drapes and carpeting, you know, indirect lighting....air conditioning. And I thought, "Gee, it would be nice to spend a day in school like that!" So that was my first impression. (11/5/80)

The discordant relationship between the school and community which so taxed principal Shelby was reversed during the tenure of Michael Edwards. The first Mother's Club at Kensington began in the Edwards' years with Mrs. Luebbert its first president. She spoke about this unprecedented rapport:

> Mrs. L: Mr. Edwards was--how do I put it?--just a very special person. Everyone respected him over there, and there were no personality conflicts or anything of the sort. He worked hard with the children, and the children respected Mr. Edwards. He had a way of talking to kids, and he could just

> say what he had to without using physical punishment or anything of the sort. We worked with him quite closely with the Mothers' Club. (11/5/80)

Mrs. Luebbert attributed at least a part of the success of Kensington during the "Golden Years" to the structure and values of the families living in the neighborhoods in this era:

> Mrs. L: I look back at those years when the kids started, and looking at families that they came from. There was not a working mother hardly among them. You know, mother usually was always at home. It looked like you sent a disciplined, maybe well balanced child down to Kensington....but these children were from disciplined household to begin with. So that is maybe why the program worked to a point, you know. (11/5/80)

Not by edict, but rather by example, Mr. Edwards' love of children became a model for teachers. Edwards' non-punitive approach to discipline, the strength of this personal rapport, and a co-operative group of students with middle class values made for few "problems." Students who were referred to the Principal for misbehavior found a soft-spoken man who spanked only two children in ten years.

The staff division and conflict that marked Shelby's early tenure were changed drastically in Edwards' time. The new Principal allowed the teachers considerable autonomy in instructional matters. The frequent faculty meetings, and late night and weekend planning sessions all but disappeared. One of the teachers reflected on a happy and harmonious staff which worked hard under a considerate and thoughtful leader:

> Teacher A: And the teachers got along together and we really loved each other. It was like one big happy family. It was really a rare experience.

> Teacher B: And it has carried on all along. I think Mr. Edwards instilled all of that.
>
> Obs: How did he do that?
>
> Teacher A: He was a very selfless man. He always made you feel that whatever the moment, whatever the time, you were the most important thing right now. Not his wife, and not his family, and not his troubles, but you right at this moment. He was a very perceptive man. He could tell when you weren't feeling well. And even if you thought, boy, you were hiding it really good. He would come in your classroom and say, "Why don't you go upstairs and rest. I'll teach this lesson for you." (1980)

As we conclude this section on the Kensington's "Golden Years", we need to note some significant events in its residential and demographic context. In 1970, enrollments in the Milford School District reached an all time high of nearly 10,000, up about 27% from 1960. The four municipalities within the Milford District showed different patterns underlying this overall growth. The cities on the west side of the district grew less than those on the east. The City of Milford Village changed least during the decade, increasing its numbers by only 1% and reaching 3,700. The population of Carlton Heights increased 10% between 1960 and 1970 and reached its peak of 14,000. On the east side, Marquette Acres climbed to 3,700 residents, representing an increase of 18%. The largest growth occurred in Camdenton, whose population of 7,100 in 1970 was 50% higher than 10 years before.

Milford's unincorporated areas also reflected differential patterns of growth. On the west side, the subdivision of Edinburg Estates, built in the early '50's, was in a period of population decline which began several years earlier. New housing along the southern border of Edinburg Estates brought a couple of hundred new families into this area, and temporarily offset the declining enrollments at Hillside and Edinburg Schools. Few developable parcels of land were still to be found on the west side of Milford. One such lot, a two acre site in Edinburg Estates, shall receive further consideration in the section which follows.

The area of greatest growth was the unincorporated areas on the east side of Midvale Road, and all around Kensington. The construction of the 450 unit Singleton Terrace Apartment complex was only the beginning of a local trend that added 1,200 additional units to the Kensington attendance area in the years ahead. It is both convenient and desirable at this time to pictorialize the magnitude of apartment construction around Kensington during the Golden Years. We present as Figures 21 and 22 the patterns of land use in the vicinity of Kensington in 1965 and seven years later in 1972. As can be readily seen, virtually all of the construction subsequent to 1965 was in multi-family housing. Nestled around the east side of Kensington were the Prairie Vista, Verdun, and Tropicana apartments, all built in the late '60's. The Bordeaux Apartments were built in 1972 on the west side of Kensington. On the north side of the Kennerly Heights subdivision, an apartment complex named Olympic Village completed construction around 1970. Due north of Kensington, and separated by one of the few remaining good sized parcels of developable land in the district, was the Crystal Gardens complex completed in the late '60's. Several other smaller groups of apartments are also shown in Figure 22. The significance of this massive build-up of apartment buildings will be appreciated as we next consider the dynamics of racial transition and the traditionalization of the Kensington School.

Insert Figures 21 and 22 about here

6.3 Changing Neighborhoods and Changing Schools: 1973 to 1980

The Kensington School of 1972 under Michael Edwards was both alike and different from the same school during the Shelby era. Most would say that Kensington had become a better school. Between 1973 and 1980 the changes at Kensington were even more profound, and by the latter date very few vestiges of the innovative years were to be found. Most we talked to felt the changes at Kensington were necessary, but few would argue that it was a better school than during the "Golden Years" of Michael Edwards.

Between 1973 and 1980, the proportion of Black children attending Kensington increased from 4% to 60%. In the midst of this racial transition, principal Edwards died and was succeeded by a less effectual leader named William Hawkins. When we returned to Kensington in 1979, we observed the Kensington faculty under Hawkins, and then the next year witnessed his successor Dr. Jonas Wales beginning to restore the leadership and stability that Kensington had lacked for so many years. Nearly everyone with whom we spoke was optimistic about Kensington's future under the leadership and direction of Dr. Wales. The Kensington School, however, had become a very different school in the interim.

In this final section, we seek to document and explain the changes that we encountered at Kensington since our earlier visit in the innovative years. As we proceed, we find local and regional population dynamics to be among the most potent determinants of Kensington's

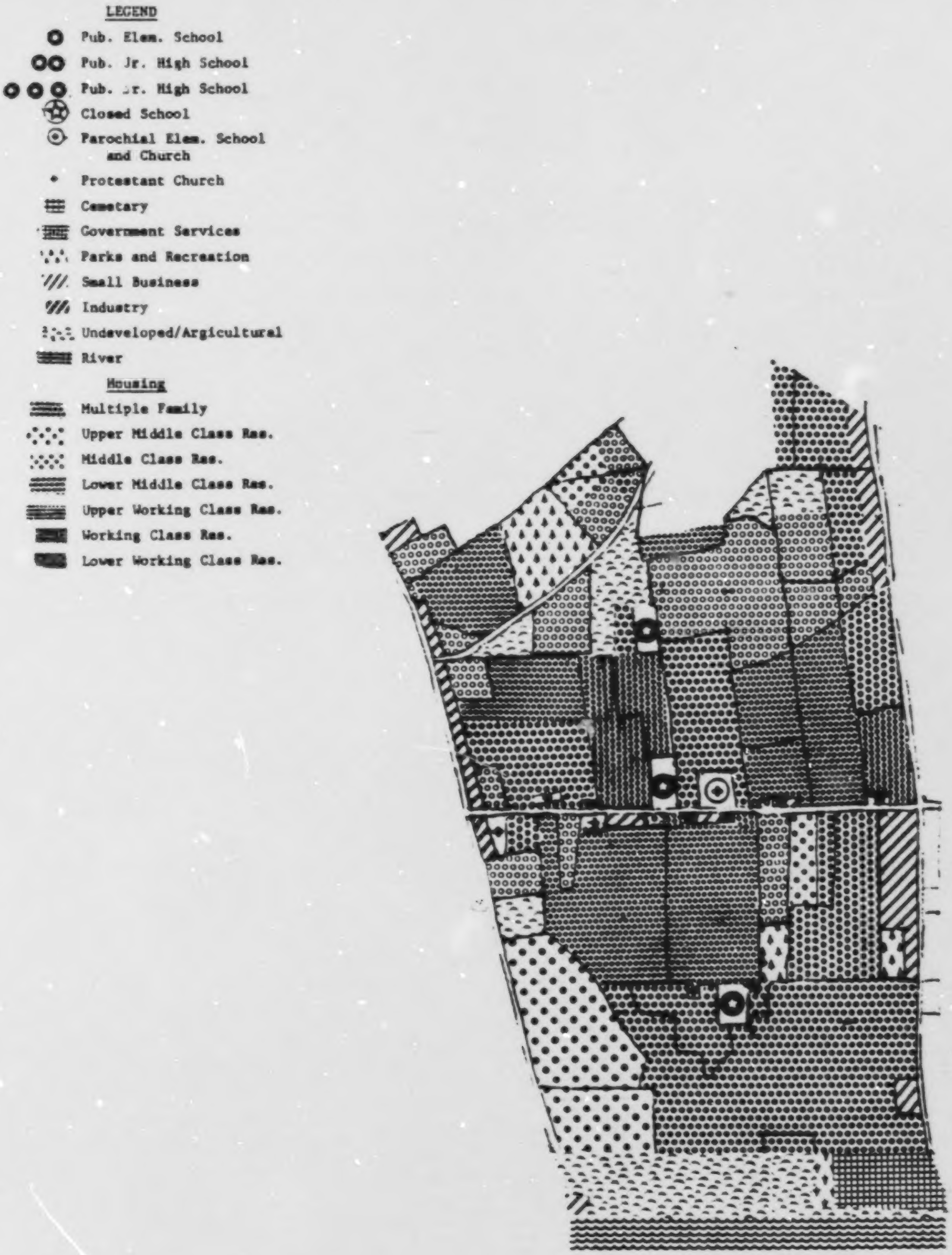
LEGEND
Pub. Elem. School
Pub. Jr. High School
Pub. Sr. High School
Closed School
Parochial Elem. School and Church
Protestant Church
Cemetary
Government Services
Parks and Recreation
Small Business
Industry
Undeveloped/Argicultural
River
Housing
Multiple Family
Upper Middle Class Res.
Middle Class Res.
Lower Middle Class Res.
Upper Working Class Res.
Working Class Res.
Lower Working Class Res.

Figure 21: 1965

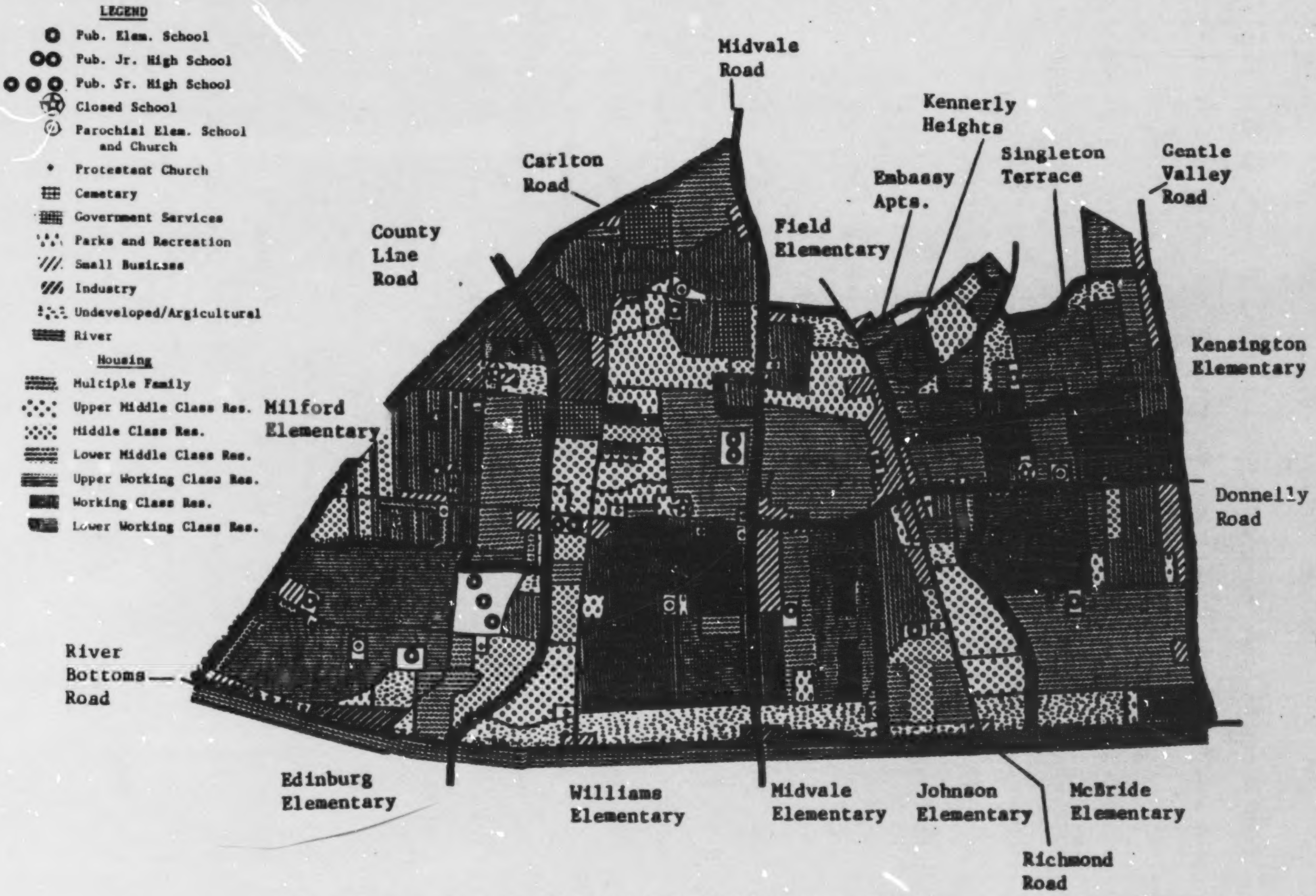
LEGEND
Pub. Elem. School
Pub. Jr. High School
Pub. Sr. High School
Closed School
Parochial Elem. School and Church
Protestant Church
Cemetary
Government Services
Parks and Recreation
Small Business
Industry
Undeveloped/Argicultural
River
Housing
Mulciple Family
Upper Middle Class Res.
Middle Class Res.
Lower Middle Class Res.
Upper Working Class Res.
Working Class Res.
Lower Working Class Res.
Midvale Road
Kennerly Heights
Singleton Terrace
Gentle Valley Road
Carlton Road
Embassy Apts.
Field Elementary
County Line Road
Kensington Elementary
Milford Elementary
Donnelly Road
River Bottoms Road
Edinburg Elementary
Williams Elementary
Midvale Elementary
Johnson Elementary
McBride Elementary
Richmond Road

Figure 22: The Milford School District in 1980

transformation, and conservative stabilization. However, we find that demography alone is insufficient to explain Kensington's traditionalization. Consequently we consider such other mediating factors as changes in leadership, Board decisions on school closings and attendance boundaries, as well as community and staff reactions to the changing population. These, we are convinced, are equally salient to our understanding of the "reversion to the old Milford" type that we predicted in 1965.

During the 1972-73 school term, prominent events in Milford's context included the orbiting of the Skylab satellite, the beginning of the U.S. and Soviet Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, and president Nixon's historic visit to the People's Republic of China. Against this backdrop, principal Edwards showed the first signs of failing health. Concurrently, the first Black families moved into the Olympic Village Apartments. Enrollments at Kensington were at a tolerable level of 500, and the fact that there were 20 Black children at school seemed to have caused little concern except in the Kennerly Heights subdivision bordering Olympic Village.

The Vincents were among the many Black families that later moved into Kennerly Heights. They, like the other Milford residents we visited, welcomed us into their home where we discussed a variety of school and community issues. On of the topics we came upon was the early reputation of Olympic Village among Black residents of Metropolitan City:

> Mr. V: And like from talking around, the most elite Blacks were living over there at that time. The Blacks that were over there had some money, you know....You were, you know, "top of the tower" you might say, if you lived in Olympic Village. As a matter of fact for Blacks to know anything about Southtown Shopping Center was a big plus. Because you would be surprised, right now, the ones that don't know about Southtown Shopping Center. You know, I was surprised. I said, "You have never heard about it? I have been out there millions of times!" They said, "You better watch it, what are you doing out there?" This was that type of a thing. This was, I lived in the city in late '72 or early '73. I could not believe it, it was really unreal. But you know that is why I think that the first Blacks did start buying, you know, over here, in late '73 or early '74. (11/18/80)

For long term White residents of Kennerly Heights, such as the Bixby's, the subtleties of prestige were overlooked as the next group of Black families moved into the apartments. As the Bixby's stated some of these families were displaced in the demolition of a large Federal Housing Project in the City and were aided by the government in securing housing at Olympic Village:

> Obs: Now, somebody told me that Olympic Village was the first area where the Blacks lived, before they moved into here. They were out in those apartments.
>
> Mrs. B: Yeah, that was all Parson's land you know, it belonged to the Parsons family. And Gus lives right there in front of them in the white house, and he said that if he knew that they were going to build apartments in there when they bought that land, and that he would have never sold, he would have let that land go to taxes. Otherwise, because he raises a garden and sells fresh vegetables. Of course he is retired, and boy, they were robbing him blind on the vegetables. What they did, what they moved in there, they moved all that from the housing project, the one they blowed up down town, they moved all that ADC out here into Olympic Village....I guess about three fourths of the people in there was subsidized by the government. (12/2/80)

The Bixby's reflected upon the response of the White community adjacent to Olympic village:

> Mrs. B: A couple of families moved up the street, wasn't it? And then there were a couple of houses the developer built in the subdivision, that he was renting. And then we heard that he sold one to a colored family, and then people panicked.
>
> Obs: You said people really panicked. What was the talk at that coffee klatches and what were the neighbors saying when the first families moved in?
>
> Mrs. B: "Do you have any idea? Are you going to move? Are you going to sell to the coloreds? We got a couple of colored families in here. Are you going to sell out to coloreds?" I said, "Why should the colored run me out of my home?" And the ones that always said that they weren't going to sell, they was the first ones--did everything undercover--and sold.
>
> Mr. B: The main reason they were selling is that their children would be going to the same school that the coloreds were. When you get on these buses so a lot of it was the going to school and the transportation. (12/2/80)

In the next several years, the wave of panic selling brought many young Black families into Kennerly Heights, including the Vincents and their two children. Mr. Vincent described what it was like moving in to Kennerly Heights, as well as the bargains to be found by homebuyers such as he:

> Mr. V: When we moved in it was so quiet...everybody was kind of into their own thing so much. It was really kind of hard to tell, you know. I think it was...really the following summer before I really even met any of the neighbors or any of them, because it was, well naturally winter everbody is in....
>
> Mrs. V: We didn't have many White neighbors either....
>
> Mr. V: I felt a little prejudice from the people that we were buying from, you know. They were not really prejudice, but they could not deal with this type of neighborhood, and....They were so anxious to leave, you know, that I almost got a steal, you know. I almost stole the place you know. (11/18/80)

The vast majority of homes in Kennerly Heights were purchased through conventional financing. Several homes, however, were owned by the

Federal Housing and Urban Development authorities. Subsidies by HUD were seen by many White residents as responsible for bringing an undesirable element into the neighborhood. The story the Bixby's tell embodies the realization of the worst fears of many Whites:

> Mrs. B: When our next door neighbor sold out, she said, "You are going to get some nice neighbors." Well, the nice neighbors moved in at 3:00 in the morning next door here to us, this house here. And I said to my husband, "I think they are not working people. I just wonder what kind of neighbors we are getting?" It scared me. I was ready to pick up and go. So it was a family, and 27 people moved in next door here
>
> Obs: 27 people?
>
> Mrs. B: Three bedrooms. They had three bedrooms, and every time I would go outside the little boy would say to me, "Hey, you white bitch, what are you looking at?"
>
> Obs: How old was the boy who said this?
>
> Mrs. B: Five years old, and that boy started going to kindergarten and gets expelled in a week's time two times.... They lived there 18 months, and they evicted them. Moved them right out into the street. And I tell you what, they was like bats and rats. You didn't see them all day. You don't see a bat all day or a rat all day. But boy, it comes after dark and they move like fleas. So we was scared to leave our property, afraid they would break the windows in....No, it was....
>
> But I'm going to tell you like it is. Our grandson was outside and he come running in and he said, "Grandma, there is some cars parked over there!" Well, right across between our driveway and their driveway one car parked, one car parked right opposite their driveway across the street, and two police cars on the corner. I went outside to see because I just figure you just don't never know with what we had living next door....Two plain clothes cops and a uniform cop, were on each side of the door. It was something like they was taking a movie, and they raided the place here. And they brought four guys out in handcuffs.
>
> Obs: Do you have any idea what they were arrested for?
>
> Mrs. B: Oh yeah, for dope and for they had stolen a bunch of stolen property....

The Bixby's continued the description of some additional hardships they endured:

> Mrs. B: They all had the records with the filthy four letter words in there, and I mean, they, I told my husband them people must have to be deaf--really.
>
> Obs: You could hear everything.
>
> Mrs. B: Oh, see our bedroom is right there, and the carport is right there, just like our carport is here. We slept in the main bedroom there....We don't have air conditioning. The windows is open and I had to keep the windows on that side of the house always closed because the kids were wetting the house down with the hose they have in a water fight, and my beds and the floors and everything, curtains and drapes and everything, would be soaking wet. It made you kind of scratch your head and say, "What is this world coming to."....As a matter of fact, this family that I was telling you that had those people, they turned the electric off in September...and they were still living there. Our bedroom was right there, and right on the outside there the back of the house is the meter, and one night I heard glass breaking. I thought somebody was breaking in, they broke the hell out of the light meter, and hopped or jumped the meter.
>
> Mr. B: After they got caught doing that they cut the wires out on the tree so they couldn't get it. Then they drove the car up against this window here and used the car battery and used this for lights.
>
> Mrs. B: Cigarette lighter. You know, where you can stick the cigarette lighter in the spot lights, and one day they evicted them. They found a lot of damage. They pulled the wall posts out of the wall, the lights, all the fixtures in the bedroom ...Well, they went over there and they was gonna evict them that time, and she said we are in the process of moving. Well, this was the week before Thanksgiving. Then my dog was barking and I'm a nervous person, so I wondered what he was barking about. This man said, "Anybody living here?" I said, well, "Yes."....and he says, "Can I come over lady?", he told me he was from the housing authority and I told him who I was, and he said, "Can I come over and use your phone and call my boss?" He called his boss and he said, "What the hell you want me to do? Do you want me to get my head blowed off?" He said, "You sent me out here to put padlocks on," and he said, "There is somebody living in that house." He said, "I went to open that door to put a padlock on it and they would have shot me." And he talked on the phone, turned around and said, " Mrs. Bixby, I want to tell you something," he says, "I thank you from the bottom of my heart and my wife thanks you and my

> kids thank you, because they will have their Daddy home for Christmas." Two days later he came out and he brought me a box of chocolates. (12/2/80)

Less likely to go noticed were such community development activities in Kennerly Heights as were initiated by Mr. Vincent who, like other home owners, was concerned about the quality of life in the Kennerly neighborhood. Vincent was one of the prime movers in the reactivation of the Kennerly Heights Improvement Association. Had the KHIA been in place at the time of the Bixby's complaint, it surely would have played an active role in the eviction. Mr. Vincent described the more mundane functions of the organization, and in so doing, harkens images of the MVIA a half century earlier:

> Mr. V: Well, you know, after I was here for awhile there was a group of people who weren't really satisfied with the cooperation we were getting from the Suburban County as far as you would ask for something or call over to the county supervisor about something that we would want to get done. And we decided that, well, basically a couple people, we should get together and form a block unit. At that time we actively all came together in a group and we realized that we already had a Home Improvement Association here, it just was not functioning. It had been around since 1956. We talked to different advisors from the County and told us what we had to do to make the organization active again. So we did that, we elected officers and went through the basic changes, you know, got a president and vice president, and there you are, there is our Kennerly Heights Improvement Association. You know, it kind of sprang up on me, because I was not really ready for it. I was not one of those people who said, "I'm tired of this and I'm tired of that." They said, "Well, we want you !" You know it kind of happened, but basically that is what the Kennerly Heights Improvement Association really is. There was a big transition of people at one point, and it was just that group of people getting together, so that our voice would be heard.
>
> Obs: One of the things that your wife mentioned was that at Halloween you had some sort of letter that was sent out to tell people whether or not they were interested in trick or treaters coming by and that sort of thing, and that would be, I guess, a good example of one of the services that the

organization provides for the community. Could you maybe give me a couple of other examples of things that you have done in the past couple of years?

Mr. V: Okay, well, we do things like that, or just yesterday for example I had a guy out with concrete. You know, I have a problem with my carport, you know, the foundation of the ground is sinking away, and I had him out to give me an estimate on what it would cost me to get it done. By the same token I talked to him about doing a number of the houses. So you know, he quoted me a figure what it would cost me if he just came out and did mine, and you know what group discounts we would get. So before the next meeting I will send out another letter, and tell anybody or any people that have the same problem that I do who will be offered the service that we have to these people. And in the past years in the summer months we have had something called spring fests, you know. Little deals in the neighborhood for the kids you know, block off a street or something....We just kind of got everybody from the subdivision, you know, to be over there. We entertained the kids. And by the same token we will try to build the organization and pick up on any problems or something. It is never a problem picking up on problems.... But, you know, those type of things (problems) are basically, you know, what we deal with. We are in the process now of working on the county to repave all of the streets, you know. More or less upkeep type of things. Keeping the neighborhood at where it does not loose anything. It may not gain, but everybody is very optimistic that it is going to gain.... Keeping the property value where it is, and anything that might fall into that is basically what we do. If we feel like we have a problem with people in the neighborhood that don't want to uphold the standards, then we have our bylaws in which they are bound by the county, and we can always call the county and they enforce our laws....So basically it is an upkeep type of a thing, you know. Anybody that don't want to abide by the rules--we have a problem that people do get in here, who are not as strong in one area as we would like them to be, where people do get in, you know, that we really would not accept probably under our standards. But with the rules that we have set up, you know, with the county backing us we don't have a problem getting them out. So if they don't abide by the rules--....If we run into a problem with somebody's grass growing extremely high...we can go in and cut that grass and charge them a fee....Another thing that we have is the "Crime Blockers." We initiated that like the first year that we first got started and we had the police come out. I think we got 80% of the people over here are Crime Blockers.... Everybody has got their card, you know, and everybody is kind of looking out for each other. (11/18/80)

While Whites in Kennerly Heights quickly dwindled to fewer than 10%, a sense of common purpose united the two races. Mr. Vincent served as president of the KHIA and Mr. Bixby was the organization's vice president. Vincent described one of the advantages of bi-racial participation in the Association:

> Obs: Are there any White members of the house owners association?
>
> Mr. V: Yes, we have John Smith, right down here on the block, he is one of the trustees, which are really our enforcers. You know....Well, my vice president is White. And one of the trustees....John Smith can go over to County Seat, you know, and it sounds, it might sound racial or what have you, but if a White man goes over to County Seat, you know, just their presence has a little bit more bearing. (11/18/80)

The path of Black migration from the City to the Suburbs was from north to south along the Richmond Road, and bounded on the west by the Midvale Road. In effect, the west side of the district remained virtually all White, while the majority of integration occurred on the east side. Around Kensington, a couple more apartment complexes-- Prairie Vista and Tropicana-- participated in the HUD program, and scores of additional low income families came into the Kensington attendance area. The management of Singleton Terrace Apartments elected not to participate in the subsidized housing, and maintained a predominantly White population which never fell below 90%.

Inside the Kensington School, the response by the White faculty was only a little short of panic. Mr. Edwards, in his proactive style, tried to prepare himself and staff for the imminent changes just as the first Black children were arriving at Kensington. Not finding a great deal of support from the Central Office, Edwards arranged on his own to bring speakers from a recently integrated district to come to Kensington to help in the transition. As one of the teachers who attended noted, the venture did not have its intended effects:

> Obs: As that began to change, if you would tell me about how Mr. Edwards responded or what sorts of things he did.
>
> First Teacher: He had speakers in, I shouldn't say speakers, he brought this principal in from North School District from a school that had gone through this same thing (racial transition). And that principal came and brought two of his teachers, one was White and one was Black, and we went to the theatre and they talked to us and we asked them questions and....I remember distinctly he would call--he also tried to get help from Central Office, you know, and we need such and such or could we have a course where we would learn. I think one of the biggest things was the Black language that you didn't understand, you know. He tried to get Central Office to have some sort of course where we would all simply learn about this, you know, before it occurred. And they said, "No, it is not our problem." Like it is only going to stay in your school so, "Why should we help you?" That is your problem, ha, ha, ha! Are they surprised now....At this meeting with the North District there was a lot of resentment after it was over among the teachers, because this Black teacher put us down. I mean she really put us down.
>
> Second Teacher: The general feeling after that was over was that they really did not help you.
>
> First Teacher: Right, she didn't tell us anything that we didn't already know. In fact some of the stuff we could have told her. You know, but the whole time we were in that theatre she just put us down right and left. She was the rudest person that I have ever met. And even Mr. Edwards commented, well you know, "That was a big waste of time, they should not have brought her!"
>
> Second Teacher: He tried.
>
> First Teacher: The principal was really good. And so was the White teacher who really, she said things that we could identify with, but the Black teacher, it was like she was attacking us, you know, her attitude was, you know, "If you are going to teach Black kids you should know all this. You should not have invited me over here." And her big thing was "cultural." Well, this was a "cultural" thing. You would ask about anything, and it was a "cultural" thing. That was her big thing, "Well, if that is a cultural thing, I still want to know about it," you know....It was pathetic. (5/24/80)

Undaunted, Mr. Edwards tried another idea which another teacher talked to us about:

> Teacher: This group came in as second graders, and they were an immature group. I walled them off with pieces of cardboard and scenery with a puppet show and attempted to remove one piece at a time. It was a very unique group of children....I went to a workshop and they said to try and let the children arrange the room the way they want it without any influence. Well, this was a fine group to attempt this with.
>
> Obs: Is this when the racial changes were beginning?
>
> Teacher: Yeah, it was just about in there. We really needed an "upper," we needed something to really boost us to know we were right, not wrong, and the workshop was so exciting. You started the workshop at 8:00 and you were finished at 10:00 at night....So I just put all the desks together including my desk and asked them to please arrange the classroom. They placed my desk in the center and placed their chairs around my desk so that each child could touch me if they needed to. (1980)

Two other teachers spoke with us and described some of the changes in instruction and the physical characteristics of the Kensington School in the mid 1970's:

> Teacher A: In those first years I don't ever remember having a child who read below fifth grade level, and having them at fifth grade level was rare. So now all of a sudden you had this whole bunch that--you had to re-vamp your whole thinking, you know, and you couldn't teach them as a whole group. You had to re-vamp completely. Because those kids needed more help and you knew right from the beginning that these kids are never going to be up to grade level by the time this year ends.
>
> Obs: Is this the period where "grade levels" were used?
>
> Teacher B: Yeah, that's sort of when the "divisions" and that all fell by the wayside I think.
>
> Teacher A: And more and more teachers requested walls. That was the first thing they thought--I say they thought "If I have two walls, one on each side, it will be better."
>
> Obs: Was this because of noise levels, in part?

> Teacher A: Well, I think the discipline entered in too. You had children who weren't there in school just to listen to you. I mean some of these kids weren't willing to sit. (1980)

During the time when Kensington teachers were struggling to adjust to their changing classroom conditions, Mr. Edwards' health continued to degenerate, but not his will to see the school through its trying times. He still believed that his philosophy and program plan were sound. Yet as a supportive principal, he made compromises for teachers, such as the construction of walls. One teacher remembered Edwards' final days, and the supportive staff closed ranks around the leader:

> Teacher: Mr. Edwards would be absent only for tests, only for hospitalization. He would be absent for a half a day with chemotherapy which made him deathly sick. We watched him die is what we really did. We watched the man that used to run up the steps and run down the steps barely be able to get up, and have a very difficult time getting down. But never did he lose his finesse, his class, his ability to make a decision, or uphold someone, or to tell them they were wrong. I think the last thing I ever heard him say--one of the teachers went in and asked for a wall. He said, "As long as I am principal of this school, we will never let another wall go up."
>
> Obs: He was committed to the same philosophy.
>
> Teacher: Right, right. And even when he was in the hospital ....his only desire was to get back to this school, because this was his school, this was his responsibility...and all this time we had problems--we had classroom problems, fights, knives, you know, we had problems....We didn't take them to him because he had enough problems. So we learned, in essence, to fend for ourselves, to go to different people to get the assistance that we needed. I spent hours on the phone at night getting parental assistance....We just protected--I don't think Central Office ever realized for years how sick the man was. (1980)

Changes occurred in Mr. Edwards' final years. A couple of walls went up and there was more teaching done in self-contained classrooms. The references to the three "Divisions" began to fade and more was heard about specific grade levels. The "Continuous Progress" philosophy became seriously challenged as students with lower achievement were enrolled. The creation of "Transition Rooms" between grade levels and the use of itinerant Special Services personnel was a programmatic change to avoid retaining students at grade level. The most significant curricular change occurred in 1975 with the district-wide adoption of the McMillan Reading series. Its 36 achievement levels made for a more highly individualized approach to reading, but at the same time added stress to the teacher by increasing the number of instructional groups for each and requiring more time to be spent in preparation.

The 1972 to 1976 years were difficult ones. Difficult for the group of minority students entering a suburban school, and difficult for the White faculty unused to teaching Black students and lower socio economic groups of children. Mr. Edwards struggled to the last to uphold the philosophy and plan that had born fruit in the "Golden Era." The Principal held fast to his child-centered beliefs and maintained his soft-spoken, non-punitive discipline style to the end. A cohesive and committed faculty rallied around their leader. During Mr. Edwards' last days he was planning to relocate the "Administrative Suite" and convert its open space to a kindergarten area. Edwards' plan was never implemented, though other changes in the Administrative suite followed soon after his death.Mr. Edwards' impact on the school and community can best be summarized by a single point: the name Kensington was changed to Michael Edwards Elementary School. (For purposes of clarity and continuity, we shall continue to call it Kensington).

For some White families, the Kensington school seemed no longer suitable for their children. In the Catholic community around Kensington, the alternative was St. Matthew's, a choice Mrs. Luebbert made. This past president of the Kensington Mothers' Club tells of the circumstances that led her to withdraw her youngest daughter from the public school:

> Obs: Could you reflect on the changes in the community or the similarities in the community during the latter part of your children's time in Kensington School?
>
> Mrs. L: I think the community was changing in so far as a lot of the families that had lived here for years were moving out. New families were moving in. The apartments...really were going through a transition period. You know, people in and out, in and out, more than normal. Then I think they were getting a lower class of people in there. Because you could almost tell by the way the children were dressed, by attendance and tardiness....So that it is kind of going through that change, plus the racial change. You know, some of the apartments, I don't know then if they were government funded, but some of the apartments were within one year had gone from completely White to almost the completely opposite....I would say maybe '73 or '74. You know, then you really could kind of tell the neighborhood was changing and school was changing to a point too. It seemed like they were having greater discipline problems like....Kids running away from school a lot, you know, some one slapped a teacher, or and this was when there was an influx of Black children coming in, and there were, you know, a few of the Black children that were just discipline problems. And you know, they would just be very belligerent in class and say you are all "prejudiced." You know, that was a big word at the time because these were the first Black children. (My son at Milford High was)....in a couple of altercations where he was the one that was injured. You know really due to the school district's fault. It was like they let the football players patrol a bus of kids on the last day of school, and they were supposed to keep discipline on the busses, and they sent two boys on a bus into a completely Black neighborhood. And there was a disturbance once the kids were off the bus, and he broke up the fight, which is what they were supposed to do, and he got hit on the head. You know, they called me from the hospital. I mean these are things that we had a sour feeling about the school district because he didn't have my permission to do that. He did not have written or verbal permission....I could not believe that they let two White boys patrol a school full of

Black children in a Black neighborhood without my permission. I just, you know, on the phone I said, "He better be alright or I will own that school district!" I was so upset, and when I got over to the hospital and he was bleeding from his ear, and they had not x-rayed him yet....It looked serious, and the woman that had called me was some type of head of the bus drivers, and I said, "You better have someone else there to talk to me why this happened without my permission....As a result Dr. George was over there, and I just could not believe that they were so down right lacking in common sense and stupid, and he said, "But we have been doing this for years." You been doing it for years, you know this is not ten years ago, when you might have had some fights, which I'm sure they did, but you weren't projecting two White children in an all Black bus into an all Black subdivision and when in fact they were breaking up was almost a domestic quarrel between two families. So you weren't just talking about children in a quarrel with other kids, I mean this could have been something really dangerous, you know. I could not believe they allowed something like that. You know, I don't know, I should have asked him, it was his junior year, if they asked him to do this if you are a senior. I just hope that the practice is stopped....I was afraid, you know, the police asked that we make a police report. As it turned out I think the school district did make a police report on the incident. I was afraid to because of, you know, something that could happen to my son, something could happen to the two girls, you know. You know, it is easy enough to find out where we live....My son had to stay in bed two days, he had a slight concussion. What was bleeding was a scratch that was in the ear. It was pretty deep, and they didn't see it at the time. So, he had to stay in bed for two days. And of course the phone was ringing, his friends were called to see, his teachers were calling to find out how he was and why it went on, and to apologize to him. But, you know, what I could not understand well, I was going to tell you that a couple of days later, the next day a group of White boys went into that neighborhood looking for the boys that had done this. The whole problem would have been completely avoided if they had not started out by sending children to guard other children. This was ridiculous. "They are the big boys." "Well, send big teachers, I don't care who you send, don't send the children. You are putting them into a dangerous situation, if you are trying not to have racial problems don't instigate them."....And the kids at school say, you know, the Black kids get away with more. So you know, when his friends stopped by to see him I said don't start anything, it is not worth it, he is fine, and even if he weren't, doing something like that would not help. You know, a little common sense....

Mrs. Luebbert offered another example of the racial tensions at Milford High:

> Mrs. L: You know, they called me at school, "Come and get Calvin. He has been suspended for fighting." I said, "Fighting, what for?" "He was in a fight, he admitted it. You will have to come and get him." I said, "I'm coming to get him, but I want to talk to somebody." That is an automatic rule whenever you are, no matter who is involved each boy is suspended, there is no reasoning who started it or anything....They are both automatically suspended, which I didn't want on his record. You know, because he was applying for college....He had some baseball scholarship offers, and I just thought I don't want that on his record. Anyway....The boys were left unsupervised....They were left to do whatever they wanted. The incident started over the Black boys were playing basketball in an area where my son and some other boys were playing kick ball or something. The Black boy took their ball, and Calvin went and got it. The next thing he knew the Black boy, you know, he turned around and the Black boy hit him. Well, he hit him in his mouth, and Calvin thought he lost his tooth, so he didn't jump up and hit the boy back, well, no one did. Now, no one saw this going on, and at the time there were six or seven teachers in the gym. Now this is not a very big gym. He goes into the bathroom...when the principal is coming out of it, and he did see Kevin's mouth bleeding, but he thought that he just got hurt in gym class, and he didn't question him. Calvin rinses his mouth out, and the more he is thinking about this, the madder he is getting. His tooth was okay, his gum was cut, and he said, "I just could not help myself mom, I was mad that they are still geting away with stuff, that, you know, the things that they get by with that the Whites would never have gotten by with." And he said, "I just came out and tapped him on the shoulder, and I said, 'Now we are even!' and I punched him, and he fell down." He said, "Now we are even, just lay off." Well, no one saw this either. Now, there had to be a few kids watching at this time, kids punch each other, no adult, I should say, said that they saw this, and then the next thing they knew the Black boy had gone and gotten a hockey stick. Calvin turned around and he was running at him with a hockey stick, and by then some of the teachers noticed that there was one boy being chased around the room by another one with a hockey stick and evidentally he tried to hit the principal with the hockey stick, the Black boy. So you know, I get this story from Calvin. And I said, "I don't want him suspended, you know, I just don't think it is his fault. There should have been, something should have happened when the first punch was thrown....You are leaving ten Black boys on their own that are discipline problems that were kicked out of the normal gym classes. They should not be on their own. I was so mad

> because I could not get anything from the principal. We had to go over for a conference before Calvin could be reinstated ....You don't want to have problems, don't put kids in situations that lead directly to, and as it so happened it could have been White boy, but it wasn't. I mean, this leads to racial problems. You know, he was suspended for ten days, at a time, you know, I don't like any suspension. You know, it went on his record. I don't know what it will mean. I don't know, I was just mad. I thought okay, let him be suspended but keep it off his record. It has got to go on his record. I was just mad, I thought that even if they had stuck to the rules that admitted that what happened, you know, it won't go on any more. Someone will be watching over the kids, even though you know, that you know, well, they are seniors, they should not need supervision. I said, "Okay, you can leave children unattended, but why did you leave ten children that were kicked out of normal P.E. programs left to their own devices? It just, you know, they create the situations a lot of times.

As we talked about Mrs. Luebbert's decision to withdraw her youngest daughter from Kensington, some of the trade-offs between the public and parochial system became apparent:

> Obs: When Pam started going to St. Matthews, did you consider that an improvement over, in terms of the things you worried about as a parent, or did you find it there too, I'm just curious.
>
> Mrs. L: Right, what one lacks the other one makes up for, but the other then lacks something else. No, it was a big transition for her. Really, I don't know if it was just because going from the open environment and free time and the independence and such, she is a good student also. She started fifth grade out there in a work book that she had done two years ago in English and spelling. You know, she said, "I did this two years ago, this English workbook." She knew a lot of the girls up there, it was not so much that it was new children, because she played sports with all these kids, they lived in the neighborhood. And a lot of them had left Kensington sooner, so that it was not so much adjustment to the children, because she knew them. It was just the environment. You know, they were treated a lot more immature than the children at Kensington. The discipline was just rules for discipline sake. Making absolutely no sense you know, so that they were broken all the time. I don't know, it was just, it was almost like going to (a Catholic) school 25 years ago. They are still doing that, you know.

> Obs: And the uniforms too I suppose.
>
> Mrs. L: Oh, she hated that, but to me that was a great plus. You know, Catholic school that is one of the big advantages, the uniforms. She hated it. I think what she hated most, she was tall, and the first four weeks she had leg cramps because the desks were small and she was tall, and when you have to get up, and it was funny. And then the big push on religion. She was really upset about that. I think mostly they are all Catholic and they have all attended the parish school of religion once a week. But now it was a lot of emphasis on Christ and a lot of emphasis on dying, and emotionally she had nightmares about the crucifix and I don't know. Just comparing the two educations, I would think she got better basics in English than the other two children got and that is the only difference. (11/5/80)

We spoke with the principal of St. Matthew's School, Sister Mary Joseph, who explained parish policy along with some of the difficulties in enforcing it:

> Sister: In this school here, they are all Catholics. And Father is very strict about that. He will not accept a child if the parents are not practicing their religion, because he says it is a contradiction. He says we are teaching one way and the parents are just tearing down what we are trying to teach, so he is very, very serious about that. He does check on the people.
>
> Obs: You talked about the policy of admitting only Catholic children. Do you have applications or requests from non-Catholics of any considerable degree?
>
> Sister: We do in fact. A number of Catholic parishes in the area will take non-Catholics, but they have a big fee, say $600.00 or something. Father has been offered $700.00 if he will take the youngster. We do have quite a few that would like to come in.
>
> Obs: I see.
>
> Sister: But we don't have the room. We are stabilized now. When I came here five years ago, and the enrollment was 488. In one year we lost 30 families moving out to east county. A lot of people now are staying.
>
> Obs: Do you have any notion why they were moving?
>
> Sister: Because of the Blacks.

Obs: Blacks moving in. That is one of the major changes in the Kensington elementary school. It is now over 50% Black. That is really a very dramatic change from years ago when it was all White. Some of the applications that you have here, are from non-Catholic families. Do you sense that they are trying to avoid education with the Black children?

Sister: Well, yes. They won't tell you, well, even our own. We feel that a number have transferred from Kensington, from Johnson, from Field here because of the Black, but you have to take their word. You have to take their word but indirectly it will come out the youngster will say, "Oh, I couldn't get along with the Black, that is why my mother sent me here." But Father asks them, and he said all you can do is believe, hoping that there is a certain amount of integrity there.

Obs: And if they are Catholic families, they are entitled to the Catholic education.

Sister: Yes, that is right.

Obs: Could you estimate how many children, or what percentage of children had formerly attended Kensington Elementary School?

Sister: I think we have at least 30 this past year from the public schools in the area.

Obs: I see, so that might have been Johnson or Field as well as Kensington.

Sister: Yes. And I hate to say it but educationally they are not up to our standards. We really dread getting them in because they are the ones that are behind. A youngster being able to compete with our own is rare, they are always behind.

Obs: Any particular subjects, or generally behind?

Sister: Just generally behind. And we ask them and they say we never got homework. We do insist on that....That what the teachers teach during the day then it should be reinforced at night. The weekend is the exception....In fact our parents insist on having homework. And even when they are sick, I got two calls this morning, the youngster is ill, but would I please send her the homework home, and I said well, if she is ill and Christmas vacation is coming up why don't you just skip it. But they are very anxious and you find the Black parents are extremely concerned about their youngsters' learning. I believe they are harder on their children, than the White parent, because they want them to succeed and I would say we have a better class of Black. They are well to do.

> Obs: I see. Sister, in the last six years, you indicated that in the first part and currently things have tended to stabilize somewhat, and there was a time when things were not so stable. Could you explain some of the instability that occurred in the last six years?
>
> Sister: I would think it was because of the Blacks moving into the area. The people were afraid. Some of them have put themselves into debt, you know, taxes, just to move out of the parish. And, they come back and they don't say they are sorry that they moved, but elaborate on all the hardships out there. I have noticed that when they leave the Catholic school they go to a public school. In other words, it is of financial....
> (12/22/80)

During the final years of Michael Edwards decade as Kensington's principal, the nation was also enduring a variety of major stresses which included the Arab oil embargo and gas lines, the resignation of vice president Spiro Agnew over charges of tax evasion, Watergate, and the unelected presidency of Gerald Ford. Unemployment rose to over 9%, 25 million Americans were on the welfare rolls, and inflation threatened to erode the purchasing power of an increasingly aging population. Just before Mr. Edwards' death, the United States suffered international humiliation as Saigon fell to the Viet Cong, as millions of Americans watched the desperate evacuation on television. And while there is no way to estimate their numbers, it is fair to say that many of those who returned from Vietnam were former Milford and Kensington students. More than a few who gave their lives in Southeast Asia also lived along the stretch of the Marquette Creek basin that was Milford. Perhaps the most striking reminder of the war which we encountered was finding a half dozen Vietnamese refugees at Kensington on our return visit in 1979.

While youngsters were abundant around Kensington, this was not the case more generally in the district, where enrollments had declined 10%

between 1970 and 1974. Increased costs, lower average daily attendance, and changes in tax-based funding formulae sent the Milford District into red ink in the 1974-75 school year. These conditions prompted a study commissioned by the Board to determine the feasibility of school closings. A "Housing Committee" was formed by five principals and a Central Office administrator to consider the options. A document titled "Final Report of the Housing Committee" was submitted to the Board in January of 1975. The report read, in part:

> ## PROGRAM CONSIDERATIONS
>
> Enrollment decreases over the past few years and the projection of enrollments for the future substantiate the conclusion that Milford elementary students can be housed as well or better in fewer than eleven elementary schools. Cost certainly is one major factor in this conclusion. Were the District to continue to keep all eleven schools open, it could justifiably be criticized for failing to maintain fiscal responsibility. Another major factor is the educational program. The prime responsibility of a school district should be to provide within its financial means, the best educational opportunities for students.
>
> If a school were to close, it is recognized that patrons in the attendance areas affected frequently disagree with the decision on grounds such as: 1. threat of reduced property values; 2. adjustment to the new elementary schools the children would be attending; 3. apparent loss of the neighborhood school concept; 4. the manner in which the closed building would be utilized; and 5. status of existing educational program.
>
> The District, during 1974-75, has had an average of twenty-five pupils per classroom teacher. Each elementary school also has had a full time principal, a full time reading specialist, a full time physical education teacher and a full time music teacher. Each school has had an after school intramural program and a before or after school music program. The curriculum of the eleven schools is operated under the same District policy.
>
> If the District were to have less than eleven schools during the 1975-76 school year, provision for pupil-teacher ratio,

> specialists and program could be modified. School closings, however, can house students in fewer schools without necessarily reducing the educational program.
>
> The professional staff of the District have provided input on the many ways that a closed elementary building might be utilized for educational purposes. The possibilities include vocational programs, adult education programs, alternative type school, system-wide resource center, program for the gifted or underachieving students and grade level centers (7th or 9th grade). Implementing any of these suggested alternative uses is not possible at this time due to the fiscal realization that receipts have not been keeping pace with increasing expenditures.
>
> Enrollment data suggests that by 1979 additional elementary schools may need to be closed. It is recognized that the process of deciding which schools and how these schools might be utilized will be just as difficult then as is the process of making these decisions for the 1975-76 school year. The grade level alignment will be given careful consideration in 1979: a K-5, 6-8, 9-12 program in lieu of the K-6, 7-9, 10-12 program. That is, the District K-12 organization of grade levels could be revised to a K-5, 6-8, 9-12 system instead of the current K-6-3-3 plan.
>
> In summary, children can be housed in less than eleven elementary schools. The school(s) that are closed to District elementary enrollment should not be used for District supplemental programs. Parents in the area affected by school closings have a right to expect that the level of education provided for their children will be as good as that provided prior to the closing of schools. The Board and the staff are responsible for insuring that this expectation becomes a reality.
>
> Attendance Area Considerations should insure that:
>
> 1. No child should be expected to walk to school under hazardous conditions; therefore, heavily traveled roads should be a major consideration in the deciding of boundary lines.
>
> 2. The traveling time for any child transported to any school within the District should not exceed one-half hour.
>
> 3. All boundary lines within the District should be drawn to utilize only standard facilities, except in those emergencies where temporary use of sub-standard rooms is warranted.

The financial savings to be realized by school closings amounted to nearly $100,000 per school per year. The board voted to close a school on either side of Midvale Road. In Carlton Heights on the west side, the Grant School, built in the early 50's on land donated by one of Milford's founding families, was closed. On the east side of the district, Kensington's neighbor, Marquette School, shut its doors and thus attentuated some of the continuity between the rural Marquette district with the modern era. The circumstances surrounding the school closings of 1975-6 were recounted by Mr. Gillespie who served as Central Office representative on the Housing Committee:

> Mr. G: I guess that was the '74-'75 school year if I recall that--the report was made to the school board--this was the one that went to the board in January of 1975.
>
> Obs: Now, were you on that committee?
>
> Mr. G: I was an exofficio--there were five principals on that committee and I met with them almost all the time because they were meeting as a housing committee the first year I came over here....The committee had already been formed and had some meetings before I came over here and I was not on the housing committee so I just got on it after I got here.
>
> Obs: Now, as I recall some of the hassle around that the committee was back and forth on whether to recommend closing one, two or three schools.
>
> Mr. G: And they offered about 19 or so plans--But it really boiled down to one or two and the committee, as I recall, the committee recommended one and the superintendent recommended one to the board, the board decided that if we could do one we could do two. After talking to the committee for a little while, I think finally the question was, is it possible to close two schools? The answer was yes and they said alright, we'll close two schools.
>
> Obs: Yeah, that's my reading of it--it was Marquette that got closed and Grant--Now, what did they do with those buildings? Did they both go to Special District that first year?
>
> Mr. G: No, Marquette didn't go right away but Grant did as I recall--Grant went and the Special District stayed in there until they went over to Hillside a year ago but I believe they went in there the first year, but Marquette we used for to begin with, we used it for, oh, the fellow in charge of the kitchen had supplies over there and maintenance had some

> things over there and we had one room set aside for all the—we collected all the elementary books then...so in general it was just storage for whatever we needed stored.... We went through a very hellasious time when Grant and Marquette were closed. Most of that objection came from the Grant area. The Marquette area were not happy, but those people didn't get up in arms about it. But, gee, we had a packed house every board meeting while we were leading up to that decision--on Grant, people just jumping up and swearing at one another.

When the 1975-76 school year began, the Kensington School attendance area was drawn up as we have shown in Figure 23. Enrollments exceeded 600 in this year, largely due to school closings and the continued influx of new families into the apartments around Kensington.

Insert Figure 23 about here

Budget restraints had the aides which served the Kensington staff removed. This in combination with Edwards' terminal illness, overcrowding, and the inexperience of the Kensington staff in dealing with minority children, all made for a stressful conclusion to the Edwards era. One of the teachers talked to us about some of the mutual adaptation required of new students and the Kensington faculty:

> Obs: I'd like to really try to get a sense of what kinds of those specific things were really becoming evident as the community was changing, the students that you had in your classroom were changing, the kinds of behaviors that the kids were exhibiting that they hadn't been in the previous years.
>
> Teacher: Just the noise. Alright, six years ago never would you have found this. If she and I were sitting in the classroom where we were visible, where we could be seen, our kids would not say a word. The worst thing I ever had happen in all the years that I taught before that year when things started changing was one of my boys--a very bright boy--got mad at another one, and put his books in the sink and ran water on them. That was the worst thing....I never picked up

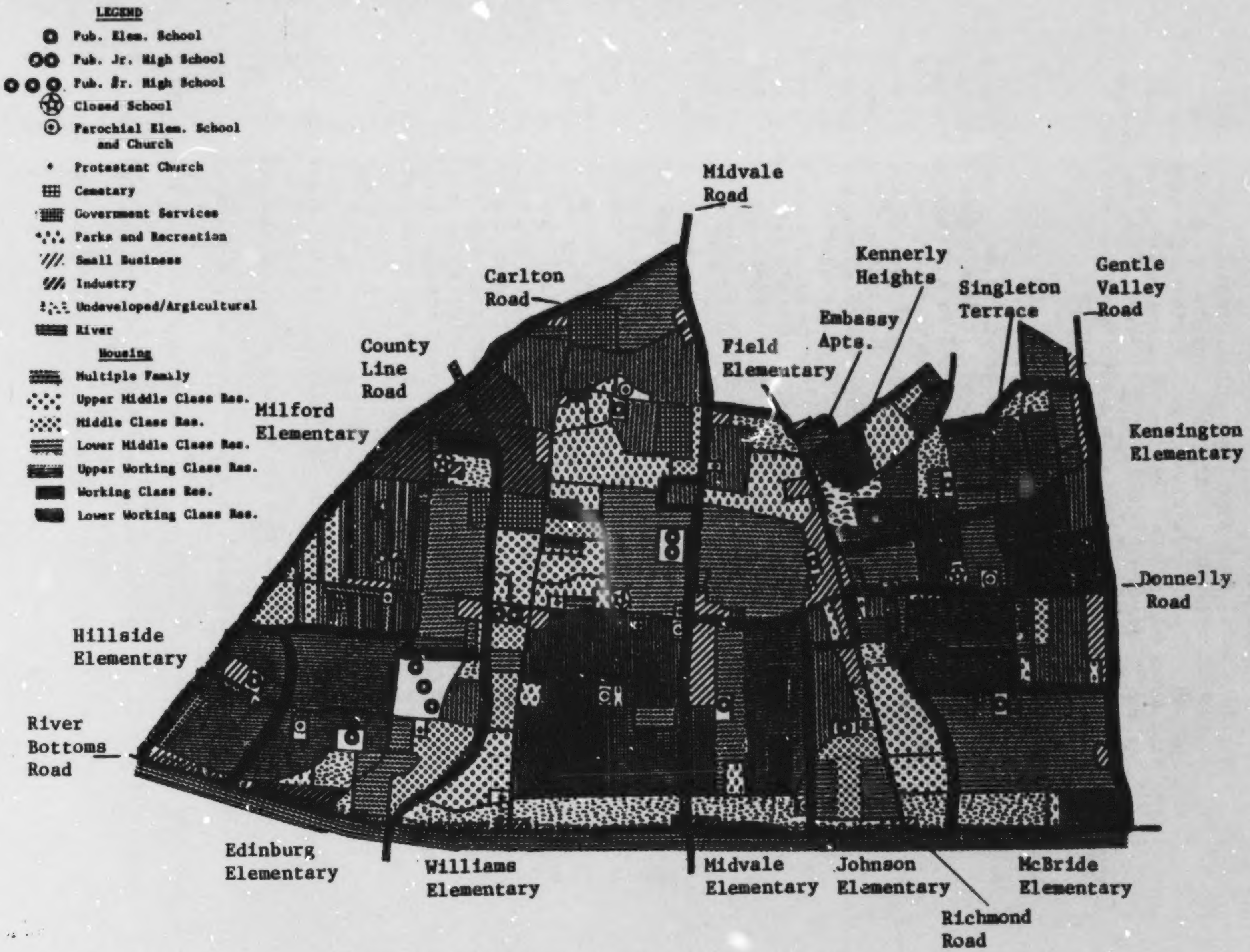
LEGEND
Pub. Elem. School
Pub. Jr. High School
Pub. Sr. High School
Closed School
Parochial Elem. School and Church
Protestant Church
Cemetary
Government Services
Parks and Recreation
Small Business
Industry
Undeveloped/Argicultural
River
Housing
Multiple Family
Upper Middle Class Res.
Middle Class Res.
Lower Middle Class Res.
Upper Working Class Res.
Working Class Res.
Lower Working Class Res.
Midvale Road
Carlton Road
Kennerly Heights
Gentle Valley Road
Singleton Terrace
Embassy Apts.
Field Elementary
County Line Road
Milford Elementary
Kensington Elementary
Donnelly Road
Hillside Elementary
River Bottoms Road
Edinburg Elementary
Williams Elementary
Midvale Elementary
Johnson Elementary
McBride Elementary
Richmond Road

Figure 23: The Milford School District in 1976

> a paddle until four years ago. That was not my way and I've taught kindergarten, first grade, you know, all the way through. The different language. Alright, the kids used to talk about--I remember the first time we heard someone was "mellin'" somebody. "Mellin'?", I thought, "Oh dear, how do I face this one?" I come to find out it was "messing with," you know, "bothering," you know, "upsetting."
>
> Obs: Sort of like Black English.
>
> Teacher: Yes, and probably to a point, maybe I build this up too much, okay, but I was confused. I didn't understand. I wanted somebody to help me. I wanted to know how I could keep teaching fifth grade reading when my kids were on first grade reading level. What do I do?...And then the fights. We were not used to that at all. And you'd be sitting in the classroom teaching when all of a sudden two of them would jump up and start going at it. One time I got between two of them and I really got hit and it was the last time. I backed off and I said I would never do that again....It would be interesting to look up some of the IQ scores. It used to be nothing for us to have an average IQ of 110 and now we're lucky if our average IQ in a classroom is 95 to 100. I don't like to go by IQ's, don't get me wrong, but it just used to fascinate me that there were so many bright kids....The other thing was not listening. I could talk 'til I was blue and they would talk to each other or they would just simply--they cannot look you in the eye at all. And this looking around would upset me so much because I, you know, do I grab their face and turn them around? Do I forget it and not care whether they look at me? How do I handle that?....I could not accept the fact that every other word that came out of their mouth was, you know, dirty. And I couldn't accept the fact that they were so verbal and talked all the time. Not that I couldn't accept it, just that I was having a very hard time handling it.... I'm speaking more of the inner city rather than just Black. (1980)

When we returned to Kensington in the spring of 1978 to arrange for extensive observation the following year, the principal who welcomed us into the school was Mr. William Hawkins. Edwards' successor adminstered the Kensington School for just a little more than two years until, for reasons of health, he took an early retirement. As Mr. Hawkins recalled his succession of Edwards, it is clear that the demands on the new principal left little time for grief:

Principal: And I was over at Field School teaching the 6th grade and I had been there about--from the beginning of the year. And one day Dr. George walked in and said, "I've come after you to go to Kensington School as Mr. Edwards' assistant. He's ill and I want you to go over there this morning." And I said, "I can't leave my class that quick." He said, "I brought you a sub." And I said, "Yeah, and that sub needs to be with me with the group I have. She needs to be with me today." So she could see what went on in there. So he said, "Well, I'll leave you here then until this afternoon and if there's no more trouble over there....If there's trouble you have to leave immediately." The Principal was gone down there and I was next in charge down there. The Principal was gone that day. But along about 3:00 the Superintendent come after me and I had to leave down there. Well, anyhow, I come over here and Mr. Edwards had gone to the hospital that morning and he died four days later. I never did even get to see him. So I took over cold there....I never got to talk to Mr. Edwards about any of his plans or anything, so I come in cold with the idea of trying to improve the discipline as they were having a great deal of calls from parents at the Central Office. They were having a lot of discipline problems with children fighting and things like this. So the first morning I come into the School, out in front on the circle out here and up on the hill, there must have been 150 kids playing right out in the streets where the cars were coming in. So I decided something had to be done quick. I called the Director of Elementary Education to come over and he come over that morning and we walked around the building and broke up three fights the first time around. So I....

Obs: The first full day on the job?

Principal: The first day of full time on the job. I, uh, reprimanded the children and told them what my plans were, that if they were going to fight, we would have to suspend them from school. And this I started on Thursday after I arrived here and I suspended three children I think that first week. And things began to cool a little bit. Every time I would call a parent, practically, their theory was you've got to use a paddle up there at that school and I hadn't been used to doing that. So I tried to break up the situation and I began discipline and to control without it. But after a while, I finally decided that that was the way you had to do it, and I--so the discipline problem was a really--was really the thing that bothered me when I come to this school. We don't have that much discipline problem--we do have some yet, we always will have I think. But anyhow, that was what I saw the day that I come over here, in the afternoon before I come the next morning for my first full day on the job, Dr. George brought me over and he reprimanded the teachers for what was going on around here. And I didn't understand why and never

> have understood why, but because the teachers were very co-operative with me--they went right along with me, everything that I suggested to them, they seemed to help. I have many teachers that volunteer to come out in the morning to help watch the children--nobody is assigned to it, they volunteer. (1979)

What Mr. Hawkins found in his new post was quite unlike what he had experienced in his career as educator. Raised in a small rural community, he had taught and been principal in his small town setting before moving to the Milford School District in 1957. For thirteen years he was a sixth grade teacher at McBride School, and in 1970 he became Principal of McBride and served until 1975. With the school closing of 1975-76, Mr. Hawkins' low seniority had him returning to classroom teaching at Field School. His appointment at Kensington in April of 1976 had him leaving the classroom for the final time, and beginning the final years of his career as educator.

As the 1976-77 school year began, another change was evident in the physical facility, as barbed wire was strung around the perimeter of the school roof to restrict access of the children to the top of the building. In this year, Black students became a slight majority at Kensington.

The teachers at Kensington were aware of Mr. Hawkins' health problems and a quality of leadership viewed unanimously by staff as inadequate to meet the difficulties the school was facing. One of the teachers went as far as calling the superintendent, requesting that he appoint another principal:

> First Teacher: I remember calling Dr. George, I can't believe I did this, but I did. And said since we know Mr. Edwards is not going to get well and come back, maybe you will change your thinking about bringing Mr Hawkins in here. "No, I'm not changing it or anything. He has been in a classroom long enough, he is getting principal's pay and I'm going to make him earn it."
>
> Second Teacher: Mr. Hawkins was a nice guy. He was put in there because--you know the reasons though. You can't blame him....And if you ask Mr. Hawkins and ask him for an honest answer, he would very likely tell you the same thing...."I would rather not have this job," it is that simple. (5/24/80)

Several members of the Kensington Mothers' Club met with us and offered similar perceptions of Hawkins' leadership, and the concurrent transition to a stricter approach to discipline:

> First Mother: Yeah, and Mr. Hawkins was not accustomed--he was in a classroom, they pulled him out of a classroom and put him in as the Principal.
>
> Second Mother: And he just did not have that leadership, you know, he was a great person just to sit and talk with, you know, as a friend and everything.
>
> Third Mother: We had a lot of fun joking with him.
>
> Second Mother: Yeah, but he just did not have the leadership, you know, as a principal.
>
> First Mother: There was lack of discipline in the school. (Because of health reasons,) Mr. Hawkins was in, Mr. Hawkins was out, the children were very, very hard to control at that time because in my son's classroom there was a little girl, if she didn't want to work she sat under her desk, you know.
>
> Third Mother: Between Mr. Edwards and Dr. Wales, it was very, very shallow leadership and it changed to more disciplinary action which is, I think, making a big change in the kids. You know, these kids can run over you so long and they know how far they can really push you. (5/16/80)

When the 1976-77 school term began, overcrowding at Kensington was relieved to a degree when the School Board decided to transfer a whole neighborhood in the Kensington attendance area to the Midvale School.

The area chosen for tranfer was Kennerly Heights, and the plan called for 90 students to be transfered to Midvale in 1976-77 and returned to Kensington over a couple of years and in two phases. Among the Kensington students sent to Midvale was the son of Mr. and Mrs. Caruthers, a recently settled Black homeowner. The Caruthers were not at all pleased with this decision, and were open in their feelings about it:

> Mr. C: I went through the ceiling, you know, when I first found out that they were going to Midvale. You know, that is just what I thought, you know. The area has turned Black, what better area to pick on than us. Very definitely that was my feeling. There are no ifs, ands, or buts, or questions about it. I felt that we were really goosed by the school district. My kid started over here at Kensington. This area was and still is Kensington as far as we can establish right now. It was turning Black, but why not some of these other areas, you know, why did we have to move? (11/18/80)

The departure of a predominantly lower middle class segment of the Black population, and their replacement by a lower economic class student from the subsidized apartments may account for the apparent increase in the kind of problems Mr. Hawkins described:

> Principal: We have no racial problems. But we do have a lot more behavior problems....And strange as it may seem, all the discipline cases--oh, not all, I don't mean all--but the majority of the discipline cases and a large majority of it is Black children that comes into my office. And the surprising thing is how they want to take things--you know, steal them. There is seldom a day goes by that we don't have some kind of a kid taking things.... (And) attitude, I think that's the biggest one. These kids come in with the most horrible attitudes you've ever seen. In other words, if a teacher crosses their path, they may pout, they may bust the kid next door to them or something, you know, they really, really have an agressive attitude when they get here.
>
> Obs: What do you make of that? Where does it come from?

> Principal: Well, I have had conferences many times trying to figure it out myself and most of the time I get the story, "Well, I worked all my life, he was put out on the street to make it for himself early in life so that's why he developed that attitude. The kids picked on him when he was home down in the city or wherever. The kids have always picked on him or her." It's not just boys understand, I'm always saying "him," but it's boys and girls too. I never saw in any school I'd ever been, I never saw the boys--big boys, sixth graders, fifth graders--fight girls. But they would just as soon fight a girl as a boy, some of these kids. Don't make any difference.
>
> Obs: What do you make of that difference?
>
> Principal: Uh, I don't know whether it's the culture they've grown up in or what it is. It's usually the Black kids that do that--you seldom ever have a White child fight. I've--we have a Black custodian--I called him in here, set him down and asked him a lot of questions about these kids. "Well, from knee high on," he says, "they've been taking care of themselves." He said, "The only way they know is to fight."

As discipline was apparently not improving, Mr. Hawkins found himself responding to both parental and central office pressures to formalize and strengthen the discipline procedures at Kensington:

> Obs: How do you typically handle discipline?
>
> Principal: Well, mainly, we have some rules and this is another thing--that's handed to us from an ad hoc committee of parents. And, uh, this ad hoc committee set up a set of rules that we must follow in any (discipline) case, and we must do one of the many things that they list on there. They list five, six, seven things. So the first thing I do is get hold of the parent whenever this happens. Either myself or the teacher will call the parent. We ask the parent to come in for a conference. We sit down and talk with the parent, trying to get the parent to, you know, see some ways that they might help their child. But sometimes we do use corporal punishment--once in a while when I think it's the right thing to do. But we have to--this was handed down to us from the ad hoc committee on discipline and, uh, representatives from the administrative staff like the Director of Elementary Education. And that doesn't take in all the behavior problems, but it takes in about ten or twelve of them. And we have to operate somewhere in that framework. And that's another thing that would provoke you is whenever a parent group would tell you how to handle your discipline problems. I don't think that's good.

Corporal punishment was increasingly put to use at Kensington, and in the fullest latitude of state law. At times these procedures were at variance with discipline policies in the Metropolitan City Schools, an area from which many of the new youngsters originated. Mr. Hawkins talked about this:

> Principal: I'd say the largest problems we have is in the third and fourth grade. As I've said many times before today, they are mostly kids who have not been here very long.
>
> Obs: When you have them in here, what sort of things do you say or do to them?
>
> Principal: Well, I don't know if I have a standard way. Usually it's according to the--why he was sent here, you know, if he's sent out of the room for like music for instance, I'll start off by asking why he's in music. I'll also, uh, ask him what the teacher's there for. And things like this. And let him do his own thing. And then I'll either--lot of times I do nothing to them or just counsel with them, see. Oh course if he gets in the habit of doing something everytime he goes down there, then maybe I'll finally whack him a couple of times or something.
>
> Obs: Do you have a paddle for that, that you do, uh....?
>
> Principal: Bend them over and swat them on the seat. No place else. No kid is supposed to ever be hit anywhere else. This is another thing. These kids come out of the city, and up until last fall when the court said that they had the right to use corporal punishment in the city too, these kids was never--they always thought Mom has to come and talk to the teacher if they are going to handle me that way. Out here you don't need that.
>
> Obs: You don't need signed parental slips on that?
>
> Principal: No, not out here. We are strictly on the State law. And--now I, uh, that was one of the things that I talked to these parents about. They might run in--and most of them would be new parents that come down here to that meeting we had--Mr. Gillespie, the Director of Elementary Education, usually attended that, and that was the thing that we tried to get over to them, that there is a difference out here than in the City, when it comes to discipline of the children.

In his candid manner, Hawkins spoke of a further problem he related to the changing student population:

> Principal: We heve already I believe, within this year referred I would say 25 kids to Special District. And all the children that we refer just about after they've tested them, come up with learning disabilities. There is more learning disabilities than you can imagine in a school of this size.... They don't have mental retardation. They will qualify for what they used to call itinerant help. But now they've got a girl here that's trained and they'll qualify for this resource room we have. That's Mrs. Jackson, and she will take them out of the classroom part of the day and teach them in there as much as she needs to help them out. She may have them out of the classroom for either 30 minutes or maybe for, well, she'd had one little boy that she has out for everything except P.E. and music now. But we try to keep them mainstreamed to a point, you know, as much as we can. We feel like that's better for them to be in the regular classroom.
>
> Obs: Does the District do anything special about that flow of kids in and out?
>
> Principal: No, I don't know if there is anything they could do. I mean, we have to take them--we have to accept them if they live in the District, and we have to let them go if they decide to leave the District. So I don't know, the only thing that I could see and I have suggested this many times, is to lower the ratio, and this is what I was talking about a while ago. This School, and uh, another school or two, have this influx in and out so much that lowering the ratio in those type schools would be an answer to part of it. It wouldn't completely take care of, but lowering the ratio to 20:1 would help.
>
> Obs: What's the problem with getting that kind of solution implemented?
>
> Principal: Money. The same thing with making changes. Most changes cost money. This District is a very poor district, operating on the same tax level they operated on in 1970. Here is 1979....

The subject of tax levies was one that most of the community had rather strong feelings about. The Keith family was one of many we spoke with who offered explanations for Milford's difficulty in passing tax levies. They indicated how the racial composition effected voter sentiments:

> Obs: The Milford School District has not passed a tax levy for over the past ten years. Do you have any hunches why they haven't, any feelings about that whole issue?
>
> Mr. K: I have a theory you might kick around. The number of children are predominantly Black in school and I think that one of the reasons is that the majority of Whites don't approve the taxes is they are just tired of doling out to the Blacks. That is the idea. We have a lot of blue collar workers in the area here, and not that there is anything wrong with a blue collar worker, but they are a little bit more down to earth, I would say. Well, I was one myself, and I think they are tired of working hard, and giving everything to the Blacks. That is the way they feel about it. And I'm like my wife, I took advantage of the public schools, and I feel as though I owe a debt to society for my education, so I vote for the tax levy everytime it comes up. (11/18/80)

Miss Flannigan, another Singleton Terrace resident, offered some additional explanations for Milford's financial problems. Once again, community demography weighed heavily:

> Miss F: You have a lot of Catholic people around this area. And they pay taxes. Part of those taxes go to support the public schools. Secondly, they also send their kids to private schools and they pay tuition, so it is double taxation as far as they are concerned. So when it comes time for public school systems to want a tax increase, those same people as well as retirees who can't afford it, will go out and vote against it. And then of course some of those people are very apt to believe the very worst about a school....We have not had a tax increase for ten years. The only reason we got it ten years ago, in December, 1970, I think we closed schools for like a month. And people did not like that, so in three weeks we had a tax levy and we were open again with the increase. (11/14/80)

Mrs. Luebbert's explanation for Milford's financial woes included the voting behavior of apartment residents:

> Mrs. L: In the last ten years so many apartments have been built in the school district, and we take in all those children, and it has probably kept our enrollment not as steadily decreasing as other schools because of the influx of children. I don't think they register. They push on to pass the levy, and I don't think they make enough emphasis on

> registering some of the people who are not registered to vote. If you are living in an apartment usually your rent is not going to be increased because they have a levy. So you know, we have got to get to these people who, you know, maybe are transient, maybe won't live here more than two to three years. But if you get them to register, it is not going to really mean much to them, because they are not going to be here that long. If you registered half those people in those apartments and get them to vote yes, you could pass it. (11/5/80)

A kind of "vicious circle" seemed to develop with respect to racial transition and the funding of Milford Schools. As resources dwindled, the district's ability to commit resources to meet the new challenges at Kensington also decreased. Community perceptions of increased problems made for diminished confidence in the Milford Schools, and an increased reluctance to support tax levies.

Other changes occurred in Kensington which were linked to the changing community. The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission pressed the Milford District to modify its hiring practices. Mr. Hawkins talked about how the EEOC influenced Kensington's teaching force. At the same time, Hawkins illustrates the difference between race and social class:

> Principal: The EEOC caused us to start hiring Black teachers I guess. I started asking for Black teachers when I first come over here, but it didn't take the EEOC long until someone had reported us and now we have to hire one Black teacher for two Whites we hire.
>
> Obs: Is that out of the Central Office or is that out of this particular school or....?
>
> Principal: That's in all of the hiring--that's out of the personnel office. I hired my first Black teacher, Mrs. Perry, so I called her and asked her about this problem, and she said, "Well, how could I answer your question, because I was not raised like they are." (Date?)

The Edwards' decade had as its backdrop the "open" or "alternative school" movement, which indeed Kensington played a part in creating in the Shelby years. However, during the Hawkins era the pendulum was swinging "Back to Basics". As Mr. Hawkins continues telling about his tenure, it would seem that Kensington was once again on the leading edge of change in Milford:

> Principal: When--about the time--soon after I come over here, almost every principal meeting we would have at the Central Office, they started stressing basic skills, so most of my principal--I mean my teachers' meetings, we have talked about basic skills and problems we had in teaching basic skills. I--the first year I was here, I couldn't see making a great number of changes because change has to come pretty slow, and so I let them continue about the way Mr. Edwards had let them do before. And I find that the teachers are very cooperative and that they are trying very hard to teach these basic skills and trying to teach the children to read--we do receive children, many children now, from central parts of the city that can't read on first grade level in the fourth grade....I think you will find that Kensington Elementary is very similar to what it is in other schools in the District. I think you will find that the teaching here is maybe a little more traditional than I had been used to before I come here.
>
> Obs: When you say a little more traditional, what does that mean?
>
> Principal: Well, to me it means that, uh, I find that they are using a lot of more phonics and they use, like over at McBride--they are not using the--really we have a continuous progress, and here I find that many teachers are not, uh, in favor of that. They are more or less in favor of retention a lot of times. And they feel that, uh, that the children are not with the continuous progress. They feel the children are not putting forth their best effort, and so I don't know--that's the main thing that they, uh, if you go into a room you may find it very quiet, no problem--I mean no moving much, where over at McBride we got pretty much freedom of children moving about. They were not--well, we let them, you know, be responsible for themselves. And I have talked to the teachers about this, and they said at one time here they could do that too. But when I asked them when did they change, they said it was in 1973 and 1974 when the children changed--they had to make the changes too, that the kids could not handle self-discipline whatsoever in the classroom.

The traditionalization of Kensington was also supported by the Midwest State Department of Education which, in Hawkins' first year initiated a statewide assessment of basic skills achievement. Mr. Hawkins speculated about its effects:

> Principal: I think that you are going to find that within the next few years this State Achievement Test is going to cause elementary to make a lot of changes. They are going to start teaching just the basic skills. (date?)

The 1978-79 school term marked the year that the senior investigator returned to Kensington after a 15 year absence. For two of the research associates, this year was the first time either had ever laid eyes on the innovative school. As we have sampled numerous first impressions of Kennsington at various points in time, we include the summary observations of one of the new researchers during Mr. Hawkins' tenure. These begin as we drove up in front of the school:

> There was an increasing confluence of children on the sidewalks. We must be close now, I thought. We turned past a row of shrubbery and there stood Kensington. I was instantly aware and surprised at how the mental picture I had constructed was so different from what I was now seeing. After parking the car and climbing out, I half jokingly commented that the flag was not flying. We passed some children on the walkway. Their small size reminded me how long it had been since I had set foot in an elementary school.
>
> A few feet inside, our first stop was at a large gymnasium. Lou indicated that this had been called the "covered play shelter" in earlier days. I was shown where the heaters had been. Pointing to a north wall, Lou reminisced how this once had been an open face to the outdoors. We turned and continued walking down a curving carpeted corridor.
>
> "Good morning!" a voice called from across a desk and typewriter. We turned to see Mrs. Moore, the secretary, waving. Lou introduced me to her. In the office area I noticed two prominently displayed placards. Moving closer, they both contained engraved portraits. Their inscriptions were in memory of Mr. Michael Edwards, Kensington's Principal who had suddenly passed away.

A short man wearing a sweater and tie emerged from behind a partition. I shook hands with Mr. Hawkins, who was introduced to me as Kensington's Principal. After a brief dialogue, we walked around a room divider en route to the teachers' lounge. I sensed that Lou knew a short cut. I was thoroughly disoriented. Lou informed me that the series of partitions we were passing through had not been here 15 years ago. In a little niche we met the school nurse. I was impressed by her eagerness to talk to us about the school. During our short discussion she indicated that four of her children had attended the Kensington School. For two of her kids, Kensington had been beneficial. She seemed proud to announce that her oldest son had scored 100% on the State Achievement Test. The other two children, however, had problems at Kensington. She indicated that a remedial program had to be instituted at Milford Junior High School just to handle the problems and deficiencies found among Kensington graduates.

We emerged from the maze of partitions into a large room. I was taken by its architectural design and use of open space. We ascended a semi-spiral staircase. At the top we found a group of eight or nine teachers busily at work. I looked over a rail down on the large room below. I almost felt like I was in a press box at a sports arena. Lou made a general introduction and explained that I was to assist in the project. As a group, the teachers seemed very friendly. When a male teacher offered us coffee, the six or seven women teachers at one table resumed their preparations for the day ahead....

Teachers began collecting their papers and projects and descended the staircase chatting. One teacher, Mrs. Walker, remained. When she introduced herself as the music teacher, I commented about my interests in the subject as I displayed to her my calloused fingertips. She invited me to play guitar in her music class sometime. I indicated that I would be pleased to, and said that I figured I could manage a few bars of "Old McDonald." I was once more surprised by some unsolicited remarks by Mrs. Walker as she proceeded to tell us how the Kensington School was viewed more broadly as the place where teachers were sent "as punishment." She laughed and indicated that she was happy to teach at Kensington.

We left the teachers' lounge. Walking down a corridor we heard a crackling recording of the national anthem as children stood to pledge allegiance to the flag....We came to a room at the bottom of a set of steps. We stopped and Lou commented how this room had been called the "nerve center" and that the original sign on the door had not been removed, though the room was now a reading clinic. Descending, we met Mrs. Layton. After searching for an accessible wall socket for the tape recorder, we had a very pleasant interview with her. I was moved by Mrs. Layton's aura of caring and dedication. I also sensed some frustration with the demands of her job. Part of her problems stemmed from the considerable influx and outflow of Kensington students throughout the year. It seemed that she served as a clearinghouse for such students. Mrs. Layton left me with the impression of a veteran teacher who had managed to survive a stressful job without compromising humane ideals. In leaving the reading clinic, I inquired about the rattling sounds from the floor. She indicated that there had once been intricate electrical conduits running below. Now carpeted over, they still emitted metallic sounds. "The children like to jump on them and make noise," Mrs. Layton said. Youngsters began entering the reading clinic as we ascended the steps.

Mr. Hawkins approached in the corridor and stopped. With a chuckle, he began to tell us of an episode where a White parent had called to complain about his child's homework assignment. A Black teacher had asked the child to write a report on "Stevie Wonder," a Black musician. Mr. Hawkins intimated that the parent's reaction to the assignment reflected racial rather than substantive concerns. Once more, I was struck by Mr. Hawkins willingness to relate this event to us.

Continuing, we wound our way through the administrative area. Emerging in a corridor, we walked a ways and stopped. Running the side of his shoe across the carpet, Lou remarked how well the carpet had held up over the years. I agreed, it looked pretty good. We moved on and approached a group of about 20 small children. They were all playing in an area which reminded me of a large sunk-in living room. "This is the 'children's theatre'," Lou remarked. Pointing to a columnar structure protruding from the back wall, Lou informed me that this had been called the "acting tower," but now it was used for storage. A woman teacher silently stood in the middle of the group of children who busied themselves in small groups. Passing through, we both noted how the Black and White children were mixed together. Even their toys included play characters of both races.

Lou pointed to a corner of a large room we were entering. "There used to be a fish pond over there," I was told. The school's custodian, Mr. Lloyd, approached. After introductions, Lou explained his interest in talking with him in the future about the school. Producing some papers from a folder, he asked Mr. Lloyd to look these over and he would contact him later to talk more about his participation in the project. Mr. Lloyd was friendly and seemed agreeable. Passing some shelves lined with geography globes, Lou paused and picked up one. Eyeing the dust, he suggested they hadn't been used lately.

A few steps further on we found series of shelved books running parallel to the wall. Pointing to the many volumes, Lou remarked that this collection was "as good as any library" in an elementary school that he'd seen. I was told that this area had once been called the "perception core." It has since been renamed the "resource center," I learned. A woman sitting at a desk in the center of the resource center waved. We approached and I was introduced to Miss Patton. Lou made an inquiry about Hometown, her out-of-state former residence. Miss Patton began an enthusiastic monologue filled with descriptions and reminiscences of Hometown. Unlike the other Kensington faculty I had met, Miss Patton said little about the school...A youngster approached with a book. With uninterrupted conversation, Miss Patton pulled a card from her drawer, stamped a due date on the book and handed it back to the child. Lou made several comments which to me suggested closure to a dialogue. Miss Patton continued her spirited conversation. Even as we turned to walk away, some ten feet later her discourse continued. I was conscious of my polite smiles and the awkwardness of parting.

We moved along the corridor again and Lou suggested we drop in on Mrs. West, a sixth grade teacher. When we entered Mrs. West was in the middle of a spelling lesson. We took seats on one side of the room. Instantly I was aware of a lesson taking place on the other side of a bookcase room divider. In loud tones next door, Mr. Bannon was instructing a math class. As Mr. Bannon spoke of calculating the perimeter of a polygon to his sixth graders, Mrs. West's soft voice pronounced words to be spelled: "breath, cool, dew--the morning dew was on the grass." I wondered how the children could concentrate on spelling as the fervor of Mr. Bannon's lesson seemed to increase. My initial sensation was similar to that of wearing headphones with each earpiece transmitting a different audio signal. Surprisingly, the children seemed oblivious to the goings on next door. Looking around, I could see that not all of the students were engaged in the spelling lesson. Some were reading, others seemed to be just sitting there. The lighting in the classroom seemed very dim to me, and I wondered if the illumination could be increased. As my eyes took in the classroom, I wondered if the young woman sitting in a back corner of the class could be a student teacher. I had to look twice before I decided she must be a sixth grade student. Two boys--one Black, one White--were sitting closer to the teacher's desk than the others. The Black child's desk seemed physically buffered from the rest of the desks. I watched him mimick a drummer as he paradiddled with his pencils on imaginary drums. Between periodic glances in our direction, he crashed unseen cymbols. The White youth sat still and seemed bored. On the front of his shirt was an irridescent radio station logo. On the back was the name of the rock band "Foghat." Before parting, we spoke briefly with Mrs. West. She deflected several children's questions as we thanked her and left.

> Walking back to the office, we met Mr. Hawkins again. Lou inquired if any old photographs of the school were around....Mr. Hawkins led us to a cabinet and opening it, wondered out loud if any old photos were kept here. I noticed several flags stored in the cabinet. Lou spotted the edge of an album and Mr. Hawkins edged it out from under a stack of odds and ends. Handing it to Lou, it was opened and we found about a half a dozen yellowing snapshots of Kensington school's construction in various phases. Seeing these enhanced my sense of Kensington's history.
>
> Returning to the office area we observed a little oriental boy taking medication. Mr. Hawkins indicated that he was Vietnamese and that he never walked but always ran. He indicated that there were quite a few hyperkinetic children on medication. Expressing our thanks and saying goodbye, we left by the same route we entered.
>
> Just outside of the office area, we paused before a storage room full of boxes and supplies. Not too interesting, I thought. Lou explained how this room had once been a projection room.
>
> Passing the former "covered play shelter" we stopped briefly to speak with Mr. Fischer who was conducting physical education classes with a group of about 30 small children. I watched a small squabble over a ball between a little Black girl and a White. I glanced at other children at play. When I focused back on the two little girls, their differences had been resolved and they were again playing together. (3/79)

We began our intensive observation of Kensington during Mr. Hawkins' final year as principal, and at a time when local demographics were in a particularly acute state of flux. The Blacks who moved into Milford were but a small part of a much broader pattern of Black migration from Metropolitan City to the southern suburbs. Milford's east side elementary schools absorbed nearly all the district's new Black families. While Kensington's Black enrollments continued to rise, the change was not as dramatic as at the Johnson and Midvale Schools, a little further south, with Black enrollments approaching 70%. The district's two Junior High Schools also mirrored the racial patterns of housing in Milford. Central Junior High remained a predominantly White school.

Milford West Junior High was integrated, with a rising proportion of Black students each year. Milford's one High School, on the west side adjacent to Edinburg Estates, maintained an integrated program of instruction.

During Mr. Hawkins' final year at Kensington, a very significant series of events took place in the adjacent apartment communities. Changes in management and leasing policies had three complexes--Prairie Vista, Tropicana, and Olympic Village--cancelling their participation in the HUD programs to assist low-income families, and beginning a phase of wholesale evictions. Several people we spoke with described the effects of these realtors' policy changes, and the mass exodus of subsidized renters. Among these informants were a Kensington parent and a Kensington teacher living in the Singleton Terrace apartments:

> Obs: Somebody told me that the influx of Blacks into the area was after the city closed the housing projects in Metropolitan City.
>
> Teacher: It was, and we got kids from the projects, and....You don't think that was a zoo?...Praire Vista was subsidized for awhile until they found out it doesn't work.
>
> Parent: We have no subsidies in our area now. None.
>
> Teacher: Also these Tropicana Apartments behind us, they wiped out the apartments....Well, first of all Tropicana did it after they saw that subsidizing was wiping them out, they, whoever owned those apartments, sold them, to someone else, and when they sold them they cleaned them out. They evicted every person who lived in them....And then they revamped. This was two years ago. They redid the whole thing, they had to just go from top to bottom. Then they made a rule that you can only have--what is it? one child? two?
>
> Parent: I understand that they have only one street that they even rent to people with children, and then they make you follow the rules....

> Teacher: And they have really upheld that. They have kicked them out. If they haven't followed those rules. Now Praire Vista followed this year. This is the first year that Praire Vista did anything, and they have something like 42 empty apartments. They raised the rent so high, one month's rent in Praire Vista is now up to $240 from like $190 or $195. Lots of people moved out. Now when all those people moved out, they have been doing or redoing Praire Vista, putting in new fences and redoing the whole thing. That really has helped out. Of course that year they changed management at Tropicana, like March just in my homeroom, I remember I lost about six kids who moved out because they got kicked out of there....When they moved, took all the pipes with them, all the wiring, they took toilets, sinks, they did this in the Praire Vista Apartments too, and did not leave anything in there--refrigerators, stoves--they took everything.
>
> Obs: So what you are saying, the Black population in the area, it is a different quality now?
>
> Teacher: Completely, completely.
>
> Obs: So I guess the worst times are over.
>
> Teacher: Yes.
>
> Parent: Yes. (5/24/80)

During this time, the Kensington School underwent a tremendous turnover in its student population as large numbers of low-income students left and smaller numbers of more moderate income students took their place. Mr. Hawkins talked about what everyone referred to as the "in--out" at Kensington, and how it taxed Kensington's program:

> Principal: Never before. All the areas I taught in was home areas and very stable, now....my home town was a small town that had nothing but families that lived there for years, see. Raised up there. McBride School was an area when I started teaching over there in 1957....And, uh, they were very stable there. When I was principal over there, if we had four people to move in and out during the year, it was--that was a big number.
>
> Obs: You got that many every week here.
>
> Principal: We have that many every week here. I've had that many new ones coming in each week. Well, I know we registered

> two children yesterday morning, so by the end of the week we'll register two or three more. Maybe one or two will leave or something. I think one of the--this is one of the big problems at this School--if the children are here for a while, I find they fit in well after they are here for six or eight months but there's just so many of them that by the time you get some of them fitting in well, there are probably ten more that come in with behavior problems.
>
> Obs: Tell me a little bit about how you handle the "in and out" problem in the sense you mentioned that you send out these procedures on discipline and rules and regulations. Are there other ways that you kind of work on that problem of 100 or 150 kids, having them flowing in and out of the school? Anything special?
>
> Principal: No, nothing special, no. We, uh, when they arrive here, we start testing them and of course we find out as quickly as possible where these children are in their progress and then start trying to meet their needs from that. That's almost a job in itself with as many children as we have and teachers just can't hardly teach as many groups as there is in there. Although I strongly believe in individualization of their teaching. But it's almost impossible to do with--now this year we have a 26:1 ratio.

The net effect of this turnover was to decrease Kensington's enrollment appreciably, while replacing many of the "problem kids" with a more cooperative group of Black children. By the end of the 1978-79 school term, enrollments at Kensington dropped to below 400, and it became clear that the time was right to return the remaining 45 students from Kennerly heights to their home school, Kensington. The Board of Education met in April to discuss this transfer, and we were present to record the opposition that was expressed by both teachers and the Kensington Mothers' Club. Our summary observation that evening read:

> LMS: We've just come from a Board meeting. Alright John, what do you think?
>
> JP: Well, maybe just my general impressions. In some ways there were big things happening and minutia, and for the most part it dealt with matters of dollars and cents. The minutia included things like an eating utensil they called--was it

"sporks"?--that was half spoon and half fork, and how many cases of those to order. Going on to a half a million dollar roofing contract. There was talk of shifting students around and I really didn't have a good sense of what all that was about--they named schools that I wasn't familiar with, they used language that was somewhat vague and I didn't have a real good sense of what was happening there.

LMS: It's my understanding that there's one area particularly called Kennerly Heights which is a group of homes that at one time had the more middle-class type families in the Kensington attendance area. And this area went Black almost over night a couple of years ago. And the kids from that area traditionally went to Kensington and with the increased numbers, apparently a couple of years ago, they moved 90 of those kids to another elementary school.

JP: Now, was that to achieve racial balance?

LMS: No, it was too many kids at the local school, and just to achieve numerical balance I guess would be a better way of phrasing that....And they split those in half so that half went to Midvale and half this last year came back to Kensington, and now they are trying to make arrangements to have the whole group come back to the original attendance area. And part of the political football and the bouncing of kids around is that if they decide this year to send all of them back to Kensington and then next year, when they have the master plan, if they start shifting kids around for racial purposes, then those same kids may get shoved to another school, and there is some concern about trying to settle that reasonably soon and quickly and stably so that the kids aren't some kind of a football as it were.

JP: Was that the nature of the woman's comment that opened the meeting almost when she came up and said, "I just hope that you get this thing with Kennerly Heights settled down" or something like that?

LMS: That woman is the President of the Mothers' Club at Kensington, and the two women she was with, I think, also are from Kensington....I was introduced to her at the school a couple of weeks ago or months ago when I first came into the school. And Mr. Hawkins told me at the break during the meeting that essentially she would prefer if she could work it out that the kids wouldn't come to Kensington at all. And that they would go on immediately to wherever it is that they are going to go long-term-wise.

JP: Did he indicate any reason for that?

LMS: Uh, no, the image I get is that it's all part of the implicit, racial aspects and wanting, you know--somehow

Kensington has it's share, although people haven't quite used that word, of the minority problem or this social class problem, and some of the other schools ought to have their share--particularly those on the west side....So that's my understanding. Apparently there are a couple of other places in the district where the kids live more than a mile from school, and by state law their school is obligated to transport the kids....One Board member wanted to make it clear that they were busing because of the distance rather than for whatever reasons they might or might not be busing.

JP: Lou, did you sense that they were talking about racial issues without mentioning specifically racial issues?

LMS: That's my inference all the way on that. That they talked about those kids or these families or the people who live in the apartments and implicitly I think that's race all the way....There was one thing that struck me as very, very significant. And that's that master plan or general plan they--it went by a couple of different words during the discussions--and that one, according to Hawkins at the break, was due in a year and it was delayed because of the census which is now just getting finished and the implication that I read from him on that was that that delay was partly rationalization and that nobody really wants to raise that issue because there is going to be a big fight if they bus kids west of Midvale to make for some racial balancing. The west side schools are all 100% or close to 100% White at this point. And, in effect he said that, nobody wants to raise that issue or get involved in that kind of, I forget the word he used, but it was something like "fight" or "struggle" and so on....They tabled the business until the next meeting and at that point they are going to re-raise it, but apparently that master plan isn't going to be in until next year. Hawkins also said that somebody had started a suit sometime ago and then the family moved out of the district and so they are not under any court pressure yet, although...

JP: The handwriting is on the wall.

LMS: On the wall, yeah, and he had indicated earlier in a conversation at the school that there is some talk or concern that it would be easier if they had a court order and then the superintendent would be forced to act and he could then, you know, disclaim any responsibility for it. So it's a real mix of that kind of stuff. (4/24/80)

Opposition notwithstanding, the Board approved the return of the Kennerly Heights students at its next meeting. The news reached the greater part of the district patrons via the local suburban newspapers, from which we quote below:

> ### MILFORD TO TRANSFER 90 ELEMENTARY STUDENTS
>
> Elementary students will be redistributed between three Milford Schools next fall following action at last week's school board meeting. A projected 90 students are scheduled to be transferred.
>
> The action had been tabled from the April 24 meeting when board members had cooly received the administration's recommendation to move students as a short term remedy for overcrowded situations in several of the district's schools.
>
> The transfers include moving a projected 48 students living in Kennerly Heights Subdivision from Midvale Elementary School to Kensington. They represent part of a group of 90 who were moved to Midvale two years ago. The others returned to Kensington last year.
>
> Another 40 students in the neighborhood north of Donnely Road would be transferred from Johnson Elementary School to McBride Elementary School. An additional 16 students living in Camden were considered for transfer but will be left at Johnson School with the stipulation that enrollment figures would be reassessed in September and a transfer made then if necessary.
>
> In addition to the student transfers, one teacher each will be added at Midvale, Kensington, and Johnson Schools to bring the pupil/teacher ratios there to 23-to-1. The established district ratio is 26-to-1.
>
> District Superintendent Ronald George said the lower pupil/teacher ratios were justifiable because of the overcrowding and higher percentage of remedial students at these schools.
>
> A Teachers Union representative said, "One teacher given to any building will not help." She said the "educationally sound" solution was to bus even more students "to even out classrooms district wide for the benefit of both the student and the teacher."
>
> George said that with these changes the district "can live with the situation for another year," and that a housing committee census being conducted this year is expected to result in district-wide redistribution by 1980.

> "With the housing committee report we will be starting from scratch," George said. He added that a major question facing the district will be whether to stick with the neighborhood school concept or go into cross-district busing.
> (South Suburban Journal, 5/16/79)

The equity issues expressed by the teachers' union representative were highlighted in a competing neighborhood journal:

> EQUALIZATION MOVE INVOLVES FOUR MILFORD SCHOOLS
>
> The president of the Teachers' Union presented a lengthy report prior to the meeting, comparing the schools in question, Kensington, Midvale, Johnson, and McBride on the east-end of the district with those elementary schools on the west-end. Areas showing discrepancies, she stated are in a) time allotted for music and physical education at some east-end school as almost half of the time given west-end schools, b) time for teacher preparation, granted when students are out of the classroom taking music or gym is almost half as well, in some east-end schools she said.
>
> The President said additional teachers will not alleviate this problem as the music and gym teachers will still have only a limited number of hours per day to handle their workload, however she continued, no one will refuse the offer of another teacher in those schools. (New Mannheim Press, 5/16/79)

We talked with Mr. Gillespie, Director of Elementary Education, who explained some of the reasoning behind the return of the Kennerly Heights students to Kensington:

> Obs: Down around to the Kensington area--we've heard conversation that the Kennerly Heights area--those kids have gotten shifted to and fro and so on--can you talk a little bit about what their concept of neighborhood is, and where they belong or don't belong either historically before the big racial shift or since the racial shift?
>
> Mr. G: Well, I guess watching to see if we're to be consistent in across the district in our boundary lines and Kennerly Heights would belong to the Kensington School and that where they were and then about that time Kensington School became over crowded and we had about 90 children in Kennerly Heights that we--they were bused to go to Kensington but we just sent the buses to Midvale Elementary and then

> after one year half of those children went back to Kensington ....We just got to the point where Kensington School was filling up at a rapid rate and we got to the point where we couldn't house them all and Midvale was the largest school room wise and so those 90 kids went over there. Actually the second year they could have all been brought back but there was some reluctance to do that so it took two years to get 'em back and that area over there around Kennerly Heights, although Kennerly Heights now is back to Kensington so they're not involved in anything but that area over there, it really needs to be squared off. (2/18/82)

We caught up with Dr. George at the time of the board decision and solicited his perceptions of events, while expressing some of our own:

> LMS: What we would really like to do, if again it's alright with you, is to talk a little bit about the meeting this last Tuesday night. And the particular issue is around the ebb and flow of changes at the Kensington School and particularly within that ebb and flow of the Black kids. And let me, I guess, phrase it more baldly in a sense. One of the images I had is that the district might be sitting on a volcano that's just about to blow and I don't know whether that's true or not, but if it is true, I was curious as to it didn't seem like anybody on the board was either seeing it that way or initiating any massive say to tackle that. I guess those are the issues that are--that John and I were talking about afterwards and on our mind, we were wondering if you could kind of give us the world from your point of view.
>
> Dr. G: I don't think it's quite that far along. That it's ready to blow. But there is obviously a problem east of Midvale Road. The Southside Manor up there is Black in one year and one summer. That turned Johnson into a 60% Black school. Kensington had been gradually getting to where it was 50-50. And, uh, their problem really revolves mainly around the apartments. This Kennerly Heights thing is sort of an isolated subdivision that once a couple of Black families moved in there was a snowstorm of FOR SALE signs.
>
> LMS: Is that like 20 houses or more like 40 or 60 or...?
>
> Dr. G: No, no, it's more like--it's four or five streets. Uh, well, I'd say 40 to 50. Yeah, probably at least that much. The back of that subdivision is that Killian Station City Park and when Mike Edwards was still alive, he and I walked all through there and tried to see if we could get a way for those kids to walk to school. But somebody had talked about a bridge at one time over that creek, but if we had been successful in doing that, we would have been wiped out anyway

because after that they put Larder Road through there. And totally isolated them from being able to walk to school. But, uh, whether or not its a volcano, you know, it depends if somebody wants to make a case, they are probably going to make a case on the fact that we have too many Black students in that area and not enough in the other....But we have always maintained that the neighborhood school for Kennerly Heights was Kensington and that's why--when we took those 90 some kids over there two years ago, we said we would try to get them back to Kensington whenever it was possible. And this is just an extension of that. Then we closed Marquette School, we bused people from the east end, bused some to Field, and we bused the upper part to Johnson. And two years ago the Board said to the people in that area we are going to make--just go through a logical assessment of streets of kids who can walk in. That would be our first priority....

LMS: What about the business of another 40 to 90 or whatever the number of kids from that Kennerly Heights coming in on Kensington? Do you have worries that that's going to tip that whole neighborhood totally?

Dr. G: No, these kids went--some of the kids went to school there before. So it's not a new thing....And I don't think 49 more kids in there, which would bring it up to 407 I think, is going to make that kind of significant difference because the people that live in that area are aware that we've got a racial mixture there already. I really don't know what the percentage is right now. Obviously that will bring it up a little. But our concern about Johnson is it's up to close to 70%. But now that--we are hopeful, you know, that if we hold off for a year, we can do this this year. And then have a district-wide housing committee to come up with hopefully a five-year plan. The last five-year plan only lasted for three years--you know how that goes. See, the last time we closed the two schools--Marquette and Grant--and thought we were set for awhile. But then we had this big influx into Kensington. And nobody knew Kennerly Heights was going to from the (White) population it had to what it has now (Black). It's going to be an interesting thing to watch up in the Johnson area, because a lot of those people are losing their homes....They bought them with like $100 down and ended up with some large payments they didn't expect and I think it's not just the Johnson area along, but there is some startling figures that some South County Housing people have through defaults on the HUD loans. In the Field area, they went through a period of Black families moving in but the last few families that have moved in have been White. And it's just really hard to project housing in advance.

LMS: Is there anybody on the Board who's pushing any particular stance or line on that?

> Dr. G: Well, no, I think this particular group would pretty much hold to the idea of the neighborhood school as far as possible. You know, but you have areas that will always be on a bus, where you have no neighborhood school. Over at the west end the neighborhood school up there is Hillside, actually some of those kids have to be on the bus just the lower southwest part there... (5/10/79)

At the end of the 1978-79 school term, another era in Kensington's history came to an end with the retirement party for Mr. Hawkins. A very nice dessert banquet was attended by all the Kensington staff, and many of Mr. Hawkins friends throughout the district. Before he left the district, we asked Mr. Hawkins to reflect on his couple of years at Kensington. Mr. Hawkins looked back on these years apologetically:

> Principal: Two years ago next week, I had a heart attack and have been ill with this ever since--missed probably 40 days this year--with being ill. So I have not been able to really put too much pressure on in changing the situation around here and knowing that I would only be here for two years....I--after that--well I have more or less let it go about like it was when Mr. Edwards was here. I don't think we've changed a great deal since he was here. I don't think I've brought on a great deal of changes. I don't--the teachers have been here so long, they taught this way a long time, most of them, and most of them have been here a long time, so I don't know if there is going to be too much of a change from now on.
>
> Obs: Is that why you are retiring early? Mostly reasons of health?
>
> Principal: Well, mostly, yeah. I feel like that a younger person can do a better job than I....And I don't feel it's fair to a school to have to put up with someone who is not able to do all the things he would like to do....You know, being able to really put forth the vim and vigor that it takes. It takes vim and vigor to really make changes. You've got to really be able to prove to them that you believe in what you are doing. And I don't know, the next principal may be happy with it the way it is, I don't know.

We would characterize the Hawkins years as "Marking Time." He was a gentle, friendly man, beset with health problems at the end of his career. His roots were small town, White, rural, southern. Nearly all of Kensington's traditionalization took place during Mr. Hawkins two years. The school had not yet been able to make the transitional program "work". This stabilization was to begin with Hawkins' successor, Dr. Jonas Wales.

Like his predecessor, Hawkins, Dr. Wales had previously served as a teacher and principal in a rural community. When Wales moved to Milford, he ended ten years as an educator and left tobacco fields, coal mines and Bible belt behind. At age 35, Dr. Wales began teaching Junior High mathematics in Milford at the time Kensington Elementary School was entering its second year in the Shelby era. After a year with the Milford District, Wales resigned his post and transferred to the West Township School District. For the next six years, while Kensington was in its "Golden Era" with Mr. Edwards, Wales continued to teach Junior High mathematics outside the District. In 1972 he returned to Milford and resumed junior high math instruction for two years. While the Kensington School was entering the stressful conclusion of the Edwards' era, Wales accepted a one year contract to serve as Principal at the Field School. The following year, 1975, marked the closing of Marquette and Grant Schools, and the return of both Wales and Hawkins to classroom teaching. When Mr. Edwards died in 1976, Jonas Wales continued teaching junior high math, three years away from the principal position he would be the next to assume. When the Kensington faculty and Central Office staff met in the Little Theatre for Mr. Hawkins' retirement part, Jonas

Wales was one among many dipping from the punch bowl and sampling the sweets. Three weeks later, Dr. Wales formally assumed his new office. Title I Summer School was in progress, enrollments were beginning, supplies needed to be ordered, and an unusual building needed exploration. The teachers would be returning in seven weeks.

Several days of planning in late summer provided Dr. Wales and the Kensington faculty a chance to informally interact. Formal instructions came just before school opened with Wales' first faculty meeting. It was a robust and outwardly confident man who addressed the group of teachers. The new Principal's brief speech projected an image of teacher supporter, disciplinarian and final authority. He made good on this commitment during our year of observations. When we asked one of the teachers how she felt about the transition from Hawkins to Wales, she responded "R-O-L-A-I-D-S." This said it all, as far as the Kensington staff was concerned. It had been over six years since strong leadership had been exerted at Kensington.

We have characterized Dr. Wales principalship as a period of traditional stabilization. His conception of the principal's role contained the blueprints for the realization of the traditional and "basics" approach to teaching the teachers were having such difficulty with during the Hawkins' years:

> Dr. W: I had talked to some of the people and after that I recognized the fact that discipline was not as strict, as tight, as regulated--whatever the word is--that I would like it to be. And so that was one of the first things I wanted to get established was that we were gonna have discipline, and the kids were not going to be horsing around in the classrooms. Teachers were going to teach and discipline was a whole lot my category. So I have taken quite a bit of time

> with discipline this year for that reason. Because teachers should be teaching and they can't do that if they've got problems in the classroom. So a lot of time has been spent on discipline. Then, of course, you have your run-of-the-mill tedious work to do. Then you have meetings. And then I was on the Housing committee too, which took a lot of time. But the school, basically I wanted it to get settled down--if that's the word--in a certain mode that I wanted it in.
>
> Obs: Could you describe that mode?
>
> Dr. W: Well, the mode that I would like to have is--the philosophy I have is about teachers. Teachers are to teach. My job as Principal is to coordinate that and to alleviate any problems that interfere with that and support them in any way: materials, myself, whatever it takes to support them in their teaching job. They're supposed to be teaching. I'm supposed to be a helping person who makes teaching easier and more...
>
> Obs: Effective?
>
> Dr. W: Effective--whatever the word is--for them to get the job done that they are supposed to do. And I view myself not as a boss exactly, but as a person who is here to help. And that's what I try to do, as far as discipline, and get 'em supplies--whatever things like that will help them, I try to do. (1980)

With Dr. Wales at the helm, we find the Kensington School aligning more with the Milford District policy and practices. Wales was the first principal to actively participate in the Superintendent's advisory committee and having a hand in District policy-making. This involvement with the broader district network provided greater continuity between Central Office and Kensington School. Wales' view of his liaison role was expressed to us as:

> I've always been of the mind that the Superintendent sets the tone for a district, and the Principal sets the tone for a building and the teachers set the tone in the way it's going to be run in the classroom.

Change and continuity have been evident in much of what we have seen in Kensington's sixteen year history. The nature of curriculum and teaching remained constant from the Hawkins era on through Dr. Wales' first year. Ability grouping, individualization, worksheets, "teaming," and traditional teaching were unchanged. Some of the school changes were subtle. The sign on the door inscribed "Nerve Center" was replaced by "Reading Room" and the last of the "jargon" from the Shelby era gave way to the functional realities of school life, and the preferences of the new Principal. The most swaeping changes we noted in the Wales incumbency was in the realm of discipline. More suspensions from school were reported in Wales' first year than in the entire time preceeding. Like his predecessor, Wales supervised the lunchroom to thoughtfully relieve teachers. Unlike the principals before him, Wales' suitcoat was propped up in the back by a paddle in his back pocket as he walked among the tables in the gymnasium, once the "covered play shelter." In the Spring of 1980, Dr. Wales made a significant change in the administration of discipline. A detention program was instituted as an intermediary form of punishment between paddling and suspension. Wales' decision was a response to teacher requests, and consistent with his notion of teacher supporter.

At the end of the Hawkins era, the Kensington staff included two Black teachers. One, Mrs. Udell, was a full time Special District teacher. The other, Mrs. Fuller, was a fifth grade teacher who, in the Hawkins era, was the sole celebrant of Black History month at Kensington. At the end of the year, a maternity leave by Mrs. Udell, and the transfer of Mrs. Fuller to Johnson school left only a part-time Black counselor, Mrs. Emory, at Kensington. Her time and services were shared with the Johnson School. Mrs. Emory, in telling of a teacher initiated program at Johnson School, suggests the kind of opportunity for increasing cultural awareness and fostering positive race relations that Kensington students would more likely find with Black teachers:

> Obs: Are you aware of any types of special programs or curricular types of things that teachers are doing to somehow try to foster good race relations?
>
> Mrs. E: Okay, I think, I know most of the Black teachers like doing Black history week which comes like about the second week or the first week in February. They go through and they introduce a lot of the Black leaders and what have you. And I went into one room and I saw a lot of pictures of Black leaders around the room. During Martin Luther King's birthday, some of the children were out and so the next day the teachers said, "Well, why were you out?" The children said, "Because of Dr. Martin Luther King." and...I heard some of them go on and to expound on who he was, you know, and to talk about that. So I think basically throughout most of them at one time during the year, you know, have Black history if it's not the one day, so yes, I would say yes.
>
> Obs: Besides that, would you say there are any efforts being made to, whether through the curriculum or various maybe group exercises, promote positive race relations?
>
> Mrs. E: Yes, there was this one guy and I can't think of his name, but he's a Black fellow and he lives in south Metropolitan City and a couple of the teachers over at Johnson School brought him into the children several times during the year and he was fantastic. He sang to them, he brought his guitar and he told them that he had met Dr. Martin Luther King and he was a follower of his and that where he lives--in his yard it's like a Good Will. He has lumber for the poor people. White or Black can come and get it and they don't have to ask him for it, you know, in the winter time when they need it. And then he has a table with clothing for the poor for any race or denomination and he goes around and collects food and they know that if they're hungry they can knock on his door and he has these services for them. So he came and he told them about these African beads that he had around his neck, he had a Dashiki on and he told them about that. He told them about that march to Washington with King. He told them about how he was in Alabama with the segregation on the buses and the different restaraunts, and the sit-ins and he made up a song and sang to the children. So they enjoyed him so much the children decided that they wanted to do something to help his cause to help the world--the needy people. So they collected can goods and they had about, I don't know how many boxes of can goods for him and they called him and told

> him, "We have some can goods to give to your people to help you, you know, feed the people in need." And he said, "Fine" and he came back. And he showed their appreciation 'cause they had all written him letters to thank him for the time he'd come there. And he made a shirt and on his shirt he wrote the names of each child that had sent him a letter. And they just got the biggest kick out of that, they really enjoyed it plus he was--he made over those can goods so much that, you know, the children just couldn't stop clapping for him, you know, and really tears came to your eyes because he was very sincere and you could see that the teachers and the children were sincere in what they had done.
>
> Obs: It seems like something like that--an experience like that would probably be one of the most positive kind of things to for the breakdown of biases and prejudices in kids and see the good and the positive. (8/21/80)

As the wave of Black migration passed through the Kensington area, and demographics and education both began to stabilize, other parts of the district were just beginning to experience assorted racial tensions. Miss Flannigan told of an incident in Regal Summit on the east side:

> Miss F: Regal Summit, that is where we had, at one point, when Blacks started moving in there. At that time, according to the papers, the "rednecks", redneck, blue collar workers resented it, and we had a few bombings up there. We had harrassment of the new Blacks, and they moved out and then others moved in, and now we have a lot of Blacks.
>
> Obs: Now, my impression is that on the west side of the district, and west of Midvale, there aren't too many Blacks in that area at all.
>
> Miss F: Well, I would say one reason--out there you are talking about Edinburg Estates....They are too poor. Those homes are too poor for the Blacks. They want a brick home....I'd say that is it. They want a brick home and they do not want the Edinburg Estates cracker boxes, which I have heard them called many times. (11/14/80)

On the predeminantly White, west side of Milford in the working class Edingburg Estates, repeated harassment of a Black family renting in the subdivision found its way into the newspaper:

FAMILY HOPES ARRESTS WILL END HARASSMENT

A Black family whose south Suburban County home was vandalized repeatedly after the family moved to a predominantly White neighborhood in October is hoping that the recent arrests of five suspects will mean an end to the harassment.

In the most serious of the attacks by vandals, Willie Morris and his five-year-old daughter were showered with glass fragments when a 45-inch metal fence pole was shoved through a window in a side bedroom, where they had been watching television. The two were shaken, but escaped serious injury.

But Morris, 41, who lives in the home with his wife, Irma, and their three children, seemed to downplay the series of incidents in a brief interview Sunday night.

"I think they would go drinking on the weekend and when they ran out, they'd come by and throw the empty bottles at us," he said. "They seemed to like Jack Daniels and Busch beer." Suburban County police report that neighbors of the Morris family cooperated fully with police searching for the vandals.

"They were more than willing to help us in our investigation," said Patrolman Gary Willas.

In fact, Willas said, a tip to police led to the arrests last Wednesday and Thursday of five persons--a 21 year-old man and four students from Milford High School, including one 15 year-old.

All five were booked at the County Jail and released pending application this week for warrants charging property damage and second-degree assault, police said.

Police said there were three major incidents. The family returned home one night from a visit to relatives to find all the front windows in the house smashed and all the windows of the family's second car similarly broken. Neighbors had seen the damage first and summoned police who were on the scene when the Morris' arrived home.

Later, after Morris had put plywood over the broken windows, someone shoved a metal pipe through the wood covering, breaking a new window Morris had installed behind it.

The most recent serious attack was November 15, when the glass fragments struck Morris and his daughter, police said. At the same time, another metal fence pole was driven through the house's siding. Police believe the vandals stole the fence posts from a nearby schoolyard.

> Morris, a compression welder, moved with his wife, Irma, a nurse's aide in a home for the elderly, and their children to the area from south Metropolitan City. Their four-bedroom rented home sits on a corner lot in a working-class neighborhood of small frame homes.
>
> The Morris' house has a relatively spacious yard that bears the tire tracks of automobiles that took a short cut at the corner. However, Morris said he thinks this is unrelated to the other vandalism because neighbors have told him that previous tenants also had probems with exuberant drivers.
>
> Many of the nearby houses are decorated with colored Christmas lights and yard displays, contrasting somewhat with the wooden sheets that still cover some of the Morris' windows.
>
> Before the family moved, Morris said, he had talked with friends who told him of other Black families in the area who had experienced few problems.
>
> "You don't volunteer for problems," Morris said.
>
> Asked why the family had moved from the city to the county, Morris said, "We all make one big move sooner or later in life, and you hope it is for the best."
>
> (Metro Gazette, 12/8/80)

While little land remained in Milford for development, a small two acre lot in Edinburg Estates was discovered by residents to be under consideration for purchase by HUD. The fears of subsidized housing in their community led Edinburg Estates residents to reactivate the Edinburg Estates Improvement Association. The community quickly mobilized to purchase this lot. John Neuberg and his son Ollie were two who purchased raffle tickets from the EEIA and talked about the organization, their feelings about subsidies, and another racial incident on the west side:

Son: The Edinburg Estates Improvement Association.

Mr. N: Is meeting in the old firehouse now.

Son: Which, by the way, was a pretty dead organization until they wanted to buy this land and then they revived the organization to fight the purchase of the land. It sort of rejuvenated the neighborhood.

Obs: What was their reason for wanting to purchase the land?

Son: They wanted no more apartments in the area.

Mr. N: And it was supposed to be subsidized.

Son: HUD subsidized, low income type housing, which was added fuel to the fire.

Obs: So was there any community figures that sort of spear headed that drive? and...

Son: Well, from my area up here, Mr. Quentin, Jack Quentin, who is the Central Office man at Milford....he was the big influence in this area. A real push. There were other people involved, but I don't know their names.

Obs: So, when you first heard about it, what kind of pitch did you get on why to donate your money to the purchase of that land?

Son: We don't want low income housing up there. Of course you know what low income housing brings.

Obs: Well, is that just sort of a facade for other kinds of concerns?

Son: Well, I'm sure there was some resentment that there would be some Blacks going in there too, but one big basic issue was no body wanted more apartments and low income housing because it would add to the burdens of the school and fire districts and everything else around here....And people were mentioning their property values would go down, but now your guess is as good as mine whether they would or not.... I'll tell you what happens to a lot of people, which is why I'm against all these low income loans is because they move into a house, fine, say they move next door to me, now I'm not against Blacks living next door to me, but all the subsidizing is a bunch of bull. They move in there and let's say a $200.00 house payment, and the government picked up $100.00, okay, so they are only paying $100.00, but they still have to keep that house up.

Mr. N: And they don't do it.

Son: Sure, a lot of them are finding out, sure I can make the payment, if the government is making the other half, but the roof gets a leak in it and all this other kind of junk, they don't...

> Mr. N: Or the kids bust a window and they won't fix it, you know. But I don't know why, but ever since I've been a little kid, and it is still that way, the Blacks have an excession or obsession, whatever you want to call it, to hear glass break. Honest to God, they do. So help me God. Because anytime I've been around them, it's they want to bust a piece of glass.
>
> Son: There was one house on the corner there where somebody threw some fence posts or something through the guy's window.
>
> Obs: Was that a racially motivated kind of thing?
>
> Son: Oh yes, and as far as I know, that is the only Black family in Edinburg. Now, there was one other family, a guy rented, he was in the Air Force or some branch of the service.
>
> Mr. N: But he is gone.
>
> Son: He was there, but he has been gone a couple years. He was there to rent anyway.
>
> Mr. N: The government used to own that house. I don't know if they still own it.
>
> Obs: I see. Do you think that that harrassment or vandalism or whatever occurred was a sign of an angry community or just a few kooks?
>
> Son: Oh, I'm not going to say the community.
>
> Mr. N: No, not the community.
>
> Son: I know one of the kids and he is a kook, you know. On Halloweeen he runs around with Ku Klux Klan hood and that kind of stuff starting trouble and goes up to a football game at Milford with some of his buddies and with the Ku Klux Klan robes and all that.
>
> Mr. N: Well, up there in Milford Village they burned a cross on that first colored family that moved in there. (1/18/81)

During Dr. Wales' first year at Kensington, Milford's financial and enrollment difficulties intensified, prompting the School Board to appoint a Housing Committee to study, once more, the options in school closings. Many district patrons were informed of the portending changes in the following news article:

MILFORD AGAIN FACES SHRINKAGE PROBLEMS

The Milford School District is facing a growing dilemma--severely decreasing enrollments at all levels. The current enrollment for 1979-80 school term is 6,045. At the beginning of last year it was 6,604. This is a drop of 559 students in one year. Since 1971, records show that the student population has dropped 3,630 with a decrease of over 2,500 in the last five years.

Addressing themselves to the problem, the district has had cutbacks in the past with the closing of Grant and Marquette Elementary School in 1975. Now, the administration has formed a Housing Committee to study future enrollment projections and the possibility of more school closings or boundary changes.

Several interested district patrons approached the administration at last Tuesday's board meeting with a proposal to join the Housing Committee as a citizens' task force to aid and be better informed on the issue. Margaret O'Reilley, speaking on behalf of a citizens' committee, stated that the idea is not new, citing the committees that were used in other districts when schools were closed in those districts.

The Housing Committee, headed by Tom Gillespie, director of elementary education, other administration officials and six district principals, is presently using current census statistics to compile a list of options to present to the board duing the latter part of February or March. Answering questions regarding plans the board has on these recommendations, the Board stated that as yet it has not been involved.

Other comments made to the administration by district parents last week were regarding the overcrowding of Field Elementary, stating that some classes are held in the store room for lack of classroom space. Superintendent Ronald George concluded that Field was crowded due to an enrollment over what was predicted, however he continued, the store room has been used in the past for Special School District personnel, and is now used for speech and math because the library was shared with the reading specialist.

A new teacher has recently been hired at Field also relieving one who is now used between primary grades in the morning and upper grades for math in the afternoon. Field has a student/teacher ratio of 25.9 to 1, not including the Music, Gym, or any floating teacher. The Housing Committee, promised Superintendent George, will address the Field problem as their first priority. (South Suburban Journal, 1/30/80)

Before the report of the Housing Committee was submitted, a group of Black parents from the Johnson school, and teachers from Field School appeared at the School Board meeting in early March. The issue of race was raised with a potency unprecedented in Milford history. The local newspaper told the news this way:

> PATRONS PRESSURE MILFORD BOARD, INJECT RACIAL ISSUES
>
> Anticipating the Housing Committee's discussions scheduled in the near future regarding plans for Milford, a virtual Pandora's box was opened at last week's school board meeting.
>
> For over an hour, several parents and teachers grilled members of the board on a host of questions ranging from their opinions regarding the discipline measures used in the schools, to the location of their homes in the district and which schools that their children attend. Other questions concerned future curriculum changes, the overcrowding at Field Elementary, recent purchases made by the district and basic skills testing.
>
> In a room filled beyond capacity for a presentation by students commemorating "Music In Our Schools Week," the Board was asked by one parent, "Why hasn't the district included a program on Black History during this past month?"
>
> David Byers, who enrolled his 5th grader last week in Johnson School told the board that he took great exception to the enforced use of "Yes m'am" and "No m'am" when addressing a teacher. He felt it was an unnecessary measure of control, calling it "plantation and Gestapo" tactics that were reportedly not used when the school was predominantly White.
>
> Armed with various percentages regarding integration ratios within the district and capacity ratings at the junior and senior high schools, Beverly Maine, a parent and resident of the district stated that tax dollars could be saved by closing Central Junior High. It is a "moral obligation" of the board she maintained, to make a decision with the goal of total integration for the junior high schools.
>
> Although the issue of citizen involvement on the housing committee is on the back burner, Carolyn O'Rielly, representing a group of concerned parents of Johnson school students, reminded the board that the issue is still not resolved. Mrs. O'Rielly asked if the obvious hostility towards the board didn't prove that something is wrong.

> The board director responded with an emphatic "no." He stated that hostility was present in the past, is present now and would remain regardless of who serves on the board--even if the entire group would be replaced. It's only natural he continued, especially when highly volatile issues need to be decided. Not everyone will like the final decision that needs to be made.
>
> When asked about the benefits of citizen participation, the board director responded that he does favor their involvement and had in fact served in the past on such committees. In the past, citizen involvement had been formed in four specific areas to work within the district on curriculum, finance, discipline and communication. He said that he was very disappointed in the citizen response, as there was very poor participation. He agreed however with Mrs. O'Rielly in stating that he hoped the future citizen involvement could work towards better understanding in the district.
>
> But, taking exception to the inferences made that board members make biased decisions, the board director reiterated that the board is not self serving. Superintendent Ronald George joined the discussion by responding to the questions also. He stated, in response to the form of address required at Johnson School, that it was a disciplinary decision of the principal and staff of that school and not a district-wide policy. And regarding the inclusion of Black History into the social studies curriculum, it is an individual decision made by each social studies teacher.
>
> Contrary to some rumors that were questioned, the board president stated that no discussion has yet been held by the board on closing any schools. Assistant Superintendent Jim Luther then offered to meet privately with any parents who were wanting to discuss specifics of their various concerns on curriculum and basic skills testing.
>
> (New Mannheim Press, 3/5/80)

Tom Gillespie gave us another side of the story:

> Mr. G: During that time, not at the beginning of that wave but along toward the end of that wave was when the group of people from the Johnson School formed a parents club over there and they said some very uncomplimentary things about the principal and the teachers in that building and they'd say it in public.
>
> Obs: Is that that "Plantation" stuff that the papers had about saying "Yes m'am" and "No m'am"?

> Mr. G: Yeah, they made a big deal out of that "Yes sir" and "No sir" and "Yes m'am" and "No m'am". They didn't want that going on. We had--some of the people don't live there any more and some of them do but some of the people that were so vocal and said that the principal had to go, there's still some of those people there but they were intent on getting rid of the principal. The administration or the board never gave it consideration, never even discussed it. But that was their intent when they talked to us and so they came to the board then for quite some time and then one of the ladies I know for sure had moved out of the district so she's not there and I don't know if the other lady is still in the district or not, she was talking about moving but I'm not sure whether she has or not and some of the others have gotten jobs elsewhere and one of the ladies has a job which requires that she be in Washington, D.C. sometimes to do the job and it just faded off and some of the things that they said that would materialize, you know, they didn't--the school survived it very well and is going ahead now. (2/18/82)

Two of the Johnson School's parents turned to the politcal process to press their case, running in the April elections to the School Board. Both were soundly defeated by White incumbents some two weeks before the final report of the Housing Committee was submitted. As the day of the decision approached, the difficulties in Milford found their way into one of the Metropolitan City newspapers. As the article indicates, the failure of the Black Parents to effect change politically changed to a strategy of legal action:

> SCHOOL CLOSINGS PONDERED BY DISTRICT
>
> Recommendations on school closings and boundary changes that will maintain the neighborhood school concept will be presented to the Milford Board of Education Tuesday night.
>
> Tom Gillespie, district director of elementary education, said he and seven district principals have been meeting since last fall to determine what to do in face of declining enrollment and financial difficulties in the 6,000-student district.
>
> The committee's full report, which calls for children to attend schools in their own neighborhoods and for transportation expenses to be reduced where possible, will be presented at 8 p.m. Tuesday in the board offices.

Options on school closings and boundary changes will be presented for the board's consideration, Gillespie said.

Gillespie declined to discuss specific aspects of the report until Tuesday night.

He also would not comment on the complaint filed by two Black residents with the United States Department of Justice that school board policies "encourage and enforce racially segregated schools in the district."

Gillespie said, "We've been charged by the superintendent to look at the continuing decline in enrollment and the current amount of school space available.

"The board will have to decide what should be done to operate the best educational system possible, spending the tax dollars wisely," he said.

Enrollment in the South Suburban County district has declined by about 2,000 students since 1975, when the board closed two elementary schools.

The district operates one high school, two junior high schools and nine elementary schools.

Assistant Superintendent Allen Eastman said the district has started to spend slightly more than it takes in each school year. The current operating budget is $12 million.

Gillespie said the committee had not studied racial makeup of district schools.

"We're working on the neighborhood school concept," he said.

District spokesman Pat Kelly added, "If we go by the neighborhood school concept, we're going to have segregated schools....This is a plight school districts across the country are facing."

LaVerne Freeman and Ann Brown, two unsuccessful candidates in last week's school board election filed the complaint with the Justice Department. The incumbents were re-elected by large majorities.

In a letter to the head of the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department, Mrs. Freeman and Mrs. Brown said, "Such (school board) policies have resulted in discrimination against the students attending predominately Black schools as to the educational facilities, services and opportunities available to them....

> "We feel that this discrimination has deprived these students of equal protection of the laws as required by the United States Constitution."
>
> Data accompanying the letter indicated the overwhelming majority of schools with predominantly Black student enrollments are in the eastern half of the district, while mostly White schools are in the western half.
>
> The two claim Central Junior High School has a Black population of 49 percent, while West Junior population is 2 percent Black.
>
> Enrollment figures from 1978 indicate the district's total Black population was about 25 percent.
>
> Gillespie declined to comment on the data, as the district may face a Justice Department investigation.
>
> School board members have denied the board has acted in a discriminatory fashion.
>
> A spokesman for the Justice Department's legal section in Washington said the complaint would be assigned to an attorney and a determination would be made on whether the matter is in the department's jurisdiction. The department then would ask for additional data.
>
> The school board also has decided to submit a tax increase to district voters June 3. The amount will be set at a special board meeting at 7:30 p.m. Friday in board offices.
>
> The district's tax rate--$4.91 per $100 assessed valuation--has not been increased by voters for about ten years.

The report of the Housing Committee was submitted to the Board in April of 1980, and it began with this forward:

> HOUSING COMMITTEE REPORT
>
> Due to a concern for increasing expenses and declining enrollment, the Superintendent at the beginning of the school year appointed a committee to study the present housing arrangements in the School District and to offer options and data for the Board of Education to consider.

> The options appearing on the following pages show various ways the District enrollment could be housed according to individual building capacities. The options can be used in various combinations with dates fixed to suit the needs of the District.
>
> For the elementary schools, the enrollment capacity for each building was determined by setting aside the number of standard classrooms needed to house the children according to a 25 to 1 pupil teacher ratio. Also needed were rooms for kindergarten, music, library, remedial reading and Special District resource room.
>
> Based on the projected enrollment through the 1984-85 school year one elementary school could be closed during the 1980-81 school year on the east side of the district. By the 1983-84 school year another elementary school could be closed on the west side of the district.
>
> On the secondary level, the projected enrollments indicate that there will not be enough students in the near future to justify keeping all the secondary schools open.
>
> The projections suggest that by 1982-83 school year a change could be made. It would be possible during the 1982-83 school year to move all 9th grade students into the Senior High School for a total enrollment of 1750 students. At the same time, all 7th and 8th grade students could be housed at Central Junior High for a total enrollment of 860 students. This would allow the District to close West Junior High School and change the present 6-3-3 structure to a 6-2-4 organization.
>
> The savings that would be realized if an elementary school and New Junior High were closed would be based on the reduction of personnel and the cost of utilities. The itemized lists of expenses, that appear on the following pages, can serve as a guide for estimating various savings. (1980)

The Housing Committee generated 11 options on elementary school closings. No plan included either racial criteria, or plans to exchange students between east and west-side schools.[26] Demographics were such that only two east side schools--Edinburg and Hillside-- were considered as possibilities for closing. Although the options were drawn up exclusively by district personnel, School Board by-laws permitted patrons to propose alternate plans. One such plan was sumbitted by the Black Parents' group which would have 58 Black students from Olympic Village and Crystal Gardens apartments on the east side of Midvale transferred to Williams School on the west. The Black parents' proposal is shown below as it was appended to the Housing Report:

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[26] One apartment complex on the west side of Midvale road had been sending its students to Field school on the east side. This was a temporary arrangement, and one of the plans proposed called for the return of the 19 students from these apartments to return to Williams school on the west.

> OPTION VII
>
> Close Hillside. Move students to Edinburg.
> Students between Doleman Road and district southern border bordered on east by Carlton go to Milford Village (22)
> Crystal Village and Olympic Village go to Williams. (58)
> Students west of Green Glen go to Kensington. (25)
>
> ADVANTAGES: Relieves crowded conditions at Field.
>
> Balances students more equally through the district.
>
> Allows district to maximize utilization of classroom space without pushing any one school close to its capacity.
>
> Allows greater flexibility to meet any increase in enrollment at any school.
>
> Increases racial balance at Williams to more closely conform to the district norm.
>
> DISADVANTAGES: Requires moving students. (105)
>
> Requires closing of a school. (Is this a disadvantage or an economic necessity?)
>
> Slightly adjusts neighborhood school concept. (Done anyway when a school is closed.)
>
> May slightly increase transportation. (Done anyway by school closing. School closing more than offsets transportation.) (1980)

The proposal which was finally accepted by the board did require the closing of Hillside, but not as the Black parents had suggested. The Housing Committee's plan is shown below:

> OPTION Va
>
> Close Hillside School and transfer students to Edinburg. (189)
>
> ADVANTAGES: Provides relief of school budget (costs could be saved for such administrative services; principal, secretary, teacher aide, reading teacher, music teacher, physical education teacher, custodians and cook; expenses for utilities and up-keep of building)
>
> Utilizes all classrooms in Edinburg School.
>
> Retains neighborhood concept.
>
> Allows approximately half of the pupil enrollment to walk to new school.
>
> Improves flexibility of program (staffing, utilization of specialist).
>
> DISADVANTAGES: Requires reassignment of pupils and personnel.
>
> Increases busing slightly. (1980)

When we spoke with the head of the Housing Committee, Mr. Gillespie, he reflected upon the circumstances surrounding the closing of Hillside School, along with some other general issues related to school closings:

> Mr. G: The board practice is that any time a building is being considered for closing or, such as the night before last we went to Milford Village Elementary because of the possibility they might shut down at the end of this year also. Now then, the board never makes a decision until they've gone into the areas that are most affected by the school closings and a year ago when we went to West Junior High to go over the plans with the community they only had about 30 people show so we didn't get a lot of resistance. Now that doesn't mean people were happy or agreeable to close this school because nobody really wants it to close. But when only 30 people show up and a great part of those 30 people seem resigned to the fact that it's going to close and even though they don't want

it closed they understand the money situation and they don't raise a big ruckus about it. We went through a very hellacious time when Grant and Marquette were closed. Most of that came from objection in the Grant area. Marquette area were not happy but those people didn't get up in arms about it but gee, we had a packed house every board meeting while we were leading up to the decision, shouting matches, people just jumping up and swearing at one another. So anything since then just seemed rather mild by comparison but the night before last when we were at Milford Village, we had, I would say 100 at the most, and a lot of those were staff there and board members and people who were not--who didn't have kids in there so number-wise, I don't know but when we closed Hillside there was a--it was kind of a toss up between Hillside and Milford Village and the people at Milford Village got a petition signed by a lot of people from their area and they worked hard to keep their school open and although that wasn't what made the decision, they did object I guess a little more vocally than Hillside did and Hillside was--One of the reasons why Hillside was closed was because it would be more appropriate to rent to somebody because it was all on one floor and Milford Village was on about three different levels and another reason was that we could close the Hillside School and still have a neighborhood school in Edinburg Estates because the Edinburg Elementary School was there and when you close Milford Village there's not a neighborhood school left for them so the rental and the neighborhood school idea kept the Milford Village school opened last year....It would make some sense to say that even though Hillside is closed, the neighborhood--and if you're talking about Edinburg Estates as a neighborhood, still had it's own school. Now some of those kids lived far enough, over a mile away, so they had to be transported in, but nevertheless, they didn't have to be transported all the way across the district or some such long bus ride as that. So the people that I know and that I talked to still felt they had a neighborhood school only it wasn't quite as close to their neighborhood with Hillside closed as it had been with it opened.

Obs: They, in effect, could transfer their loyalties if you like from Hillside to Edinburg without somehow feeling violated.

Mr. G: A lot of people--a lot of people have lived in such an area that their children could walk to school, that is, they lived less than a mile from either one of those schools....Now then, if we close--if the school board decides to close Milford Village, all of the kids would go to Williams from Milford Village and would have to go on the bus. I think most of them--my feeling was that it would be at that point that you're losing your neighborhood school but you're still not taking a long trip because that of course is not a very long bus ride from where any of them live but it's over a mile so

> they'll all get transportation. If you were looking at the map you could see from the very beginning after Grant was closed that Williams' attendance area wouldn't really be considered a neighborhood concept because it's at the extreme northern end and it draws kids from completely across the district all the way down south. As a matter of fact, when Grant was still open it was drawing kids from up there, by passing Grant on the bus and going to Williams because Williams has never had enough children in the area.
>
> Obs: So you might make an argument that when Williams was built it was a bad decision.
>
> Mr. G: Built in the wrong place but be that as it may, it's there so you deal with it that way--it's a nice school, of course it's much newer than the Milford Village School, it also has a larger capacity of 54--it can house 50 more kids than Milford Village can, but that's another reason to use it but then on the neighborhood concept, if you move on across the district, get on the other side of Midvale Road, what we've tried to do, and again, if we had the map you could see this, we're trying to square off the boundary lines so that a neighborhood school means I guess, geographic location as you referred to awhile ago so that if you look at the Midvale School over there, boundary line just goes like this, it's not in and out and around. The Johnson School boundary line, we would like to establish on Richmond Road and go south with it to Donnelly and then everything east of Richmond Road would be squared off and would be in McBride School attendance area and that can be done, but it takes a few years....See Hillside School used to take kids from all the way over there by Gentle Valley Road....We have gradually integrated those kids to Johnson School, there's a possiblity of transfer.... (2/18/82)

Gillespie continued, noting how the people of the municipality may have some influence on board decisions about school closings:

> Mr. G: You see, what we have if Milford Village is a municipality, Carlton Heights is a municipality, Marquette Acres down here is a municipality. But when you get to a school like Midvale you are just talking about geography there because it's unincorporated and it's in Suburban County but there's no municipality there so that when you get in an area such as that you're just talking about squaring off just so much geography and say that geography goes to Midvale School. Now when you get to a place like McBride you have unincorporated and incorporated both, you've got Camdentown plus you've got Suburban County there and so you're talking about two things, you're talking about municipality and just squaring it off as far as territory is concerned.

> Obs: Within that unincorporated area, are there subdivisions that...somehow create if you like, a neighborhood, and does this come into the thinking at all or is?
>
> Mr. G: Well, I'm not sure that--I think more number-wise is what determines the boundary lines than anything else.
>
> Obs: How many kids per square acre or whatever?
>
> Mr. G: How many kids you can hold--see, you have a school like Midvale and you have 20 classrooms in it--that holds a lot of students compared to some of our schools that have 15 classrooms in them. Okay, but in the case of Midvale and Johnson who's boundary lines separate the two schools, there's a distinct difference in the type of housing that you see also. The Midvale attendance area is made up of very small houses that are--shingle-sides, so and as soon as you leave their territory and you go across that boundary line into the Johnson territory then you have larger homes, part brick, part siding of some kind so there is a distinct difference there. But that's not why the--that's not the reason the boundary line being--it just so happened that number-wise it worked out that way....There was a time when it didn't make any difference whether you were in a municipality or not, if you had various parent organizations, P.T.A.'s or mothers' clubs or whatever...I don't know that the municipality makes any difference really except that I think that--I think that when people who live in a municipality they use that as one of the arguments for keeping the school in their area but what you find is that they'll use most any argument they can....What happens is that whatever they think of that's what they use so the municipality gets used for that and I think the board looks at that too. (2/18/82)

Mr. Gillespie also reflected on the pending legal action by the Black Parents against Milford. As he indicates, nothing really became of it:

> Obs: We picked up a newspaper article somewhere along the line that talked about some Black patrons in the district who charged the district with racial discrimination and filed a complaint with the Justice Department, I think that was 1980, that article was written. We're curious about what that was all about and how if at all, that has been resolved in the last couple of years.
>
> Mr. G: Well, okay, it's--the case now is not active. We have some people that came out of the Johnson School area mostly but it was during the time that we were talking about transferring students from Field and it was during the time when we had some people who moved into the Johnson area who were

extremely unhappy with what was going on and their stated intentions publicly, was to get rid of the principal for one thing. And two ladies in that area who were Black, 'cause that school is about 95% Black, two ladies from that area decided to run for the school board. At the same time all this was going on at the Field School and the people who live around that area were aware that we were going to transfer kids out of Field School. At that time Field School was 60% or 63% Black I believe, some such number as that, and our intention was in rounding off--I mean in squaring off the boundary lines and going to the neighborhood concept. We were going to transfer kids that lived over by Kensington. The whole rub was that all but one or two of those kids were Black which meant that once the transfer was made the enrollment would be something like 80% Black at Field School and that came about. As a matter of fact, probably 89% Black now. So there were a group of parents out of Field who said, "Don't transfer those kids, transfer somebody else, transfer Olympic Village or transfer some place where there are a lot of Black kids and keep our ratio--higher White ratio than we're going to have if you make the transfer you're talking about."....Now, the ladies at Johnson School decided to run for the board which they did but they sort of aligned themselves with the group from Field School or the group from Field School was getting information from me and others up here about what the breakdown would be and how many kids were involved and one thing and another and then the two ladies were getting that information from them. They used it then in their campaign. The people from Field School who got the information from me came back and apologized saying that they didn't know it was going to be used that way, they were just--it was in their own plan because the Field School group presented some plans different from what the Housing Committee suggested. But anyway, the ladies went ahead and they brought up this issue of discrimination because we had the Edinburg School over there with about at that time, one or two percent Black and sometimes no percent Black and they had a school over there that was even 90% Black at that time and there was never any serious consideration given to it but it was kind of insinuated that we ought to do some busing of our own and not wait for the government to come in and say to you, "You are a segregated school system and we are going to straighten that out." Their point was straighten it out yourself before they get here and then you can do it the way you want to but it never, you know, ran on and they never--they didn't come close to winning a board seat and it just kind of died off....I'm not sure whether it was just dismissed or if a date came where--I think that's what happened to it, I don't think they ever withdrew the suit, I think it just came up to a certain date, nothing happened to it, that it was then just written off.

> Obs: If they would have pushed hard and let's say, filed a suit and followed through with it, would the district have actually gotten in any trouble do you think? Or would the courts have ruled in the district's favor? Or what might have happened if they had?
>
> Mr. G: Well, I don't think that's ever happened but 'cause there really isn't anything that says that you have to have a certain percent of Black or a certain percent of White unless they find that you are busing kids--like if we had bused kids into the Johnson School to make it 90% Black, then yes, they would have nailed us to the wall, but we didn't do anything and I said to one of the ladies that was running for the board, "Why did you move in there? You knew that when you got there, that that whole subdivision was a predominantly Black area, why did you move there if you didn't want your child to go to Johnson?"
>
> Obs: What was her response to that?
>
> Mr. G: "I just want to," that's all she ever said, "I just wanted to." (2/18/82)

This complaint by the group of Johnson School parents was the first time since the 1954 Supreme Court decision that Milford was challenged over its racial patterns in the schools. As Mr. Gillespie indicates, only once before had topic of race even come up at a school Board Meeting, where it was promptly dismissed:

> Mr. G: One time one of those ladies (on the board) mentioned that we ought to put something on the agenda at one of the board meetings, to talk about the integrating of our students, and that got on the agenda. And for what manner I don't know, but anyway, a lot of people found out it was going to be on the agenda and we had a delegation show up that night and as soon as that was mentioned almost in unison the whole delegation jumped down her throat, that they didn't even want to talk about it but she finally said, "I wasn't suggesting that we do anything about it, I just want to talk about it." And they said, "Why do you want to talk about it if you don't want to do anything about it?" and there were some rather hot exchanges at that meeting and that's the last time we ever heard about it....They were west siders, they stood to absorb the integration if there was any integrating to be done and they wouldn't have any part of that. And so before that and since then until the ladies over here brought it up, that's the only word we've had of that kind of thing. (2/18/80)

The closing of Hillside Elementary not only meant the transfer of students, but also the reassignment of professional staff. In the 1975 round of school closings, as we recall, both Jonas Wales and Edwin Hawkins had been bumped from their adminstrative posts for reasons of low seniority. At the Kensington School, enjoying its first stable school term in six years, the fear was very real that the school would lose Dr. Wales. At the end of the 1979-80 School year, Dr. Wales was asked to sign a two year contract, and the Kensington faculty and parents breathed a collective sigh of relief.

EPILOGUE

The demographic changes in Milford had a suddeness and intensity that our historical perspective helps us appreciate. We have sampled, for the most part, the initial reactions of the school and community to the changes. Many of these have attended to the stresses and pains of transition. This obscures some of the benefits that accrued as a results of these changes. While a number of Kensington staff still harbored resentment over the changing racial make-up of the school, and seemed to gain little sensitivity toward minority culture, we found others who were themselves much improved in their ability to relate to Black children. Mrs. West provided an example of how to break up the fight which neither youngster really wanted to take part in:

> First Teacher: That was the era when the Black kids started moving in. Those kids came directly from the city schools. Now we have, if we can get them in the first grade and let them live their school life in our buildings (we can have an effect on them).
>
> Second Teacher: The kids that we got new this year, they didn't have to always say--All year long. There has not been a single incident of this...."Your mamma!" That is all one kid had to say to the other kid was, "Your mamma!" And then, whew, fighting started. Now adays you know, once in awhile they will say this, and Mike Bannon (teacher) will say and "Your Uncle Fudd!" and that makes them laugh. And I would say, "Yeah, and your papa!" and "Your Grandma!" and "Your Uncle," and "Your Aunt!", and "Your Cousin!" and "Your great grandma!", and then they would roar, and then it was all over...."I have boxer shorts and combat boots!" and it wipes them out, and then they are not mad anymore. Very rarely do they do that anymore. (5/24/80)

Mrs. West's remarks, above, also suggest the cultural differences among Blacks of different social strata, and how local apartment policies changed the student culture at Kensington.

Both in the neighborhoods and in the school we found signs of mutual adaptation among the races. Mrs. Stapleton, one of the Mothers' Club members who, a year before, feared and fought against the return of Kennerly Heights students to Kensington, now seemed a little more comfortable with an integrated education:

> Mrs. S: The hardest thing for my children, the first year down at Kensington, was adjusting to the Blacks down there. At Marquette they had maybe one in a classroom or two in a classroom when when they got down there, you know, there was a lot more in the classroom and that was hard for them to accept at first but it didn't take them long to (adjust).
>
> Obs: So, do you think that your kids have benefitted now from having an integrated education or do you think the costs may have been more than the gains?
>
> Mrs. S: Well now, my daughter is now in junior high and seeing some of the other schools that don't have any (Blacks) in their school, she accepts them much better at junior high and has no problems with them. But those that have not been used to them do have problems with them. (5/16/80)

Not only did the children adapt, but so too did some of the adults. In Dr. Wales' first year at Kensington, the Mothers' Club elected its first Black officer, Mrs. Diane Vincent. Mrs. Stapleton tells how this organization helped break down the barriers of race:

> Mrs. S: Well now, this Diane Vincent, last year we had a "Crazy Bowl." Her and her husband went with us to Crazy Bowl.
>
> Obs: What's "Crazy Bowl"?
>
> Mrs. S: Well, this was really just a fun night out, I mean, Mothers' Club makes no profit off of it, it's just a time--well, we always just see the wives you know, you never

> see the husbands and this is a time when the husbands and wives can all get together and really have a good time. It's something like Scotch doubles only then they also insert these crazy things you do with a bowling ball, you know, and it's a fun night--you bowl three games and you have a buffet afterwards. Now, her and her husband went with us last year and she, you know, she has worked in different things this year at Mother's Club, she works in the resource center all the time and I have to say, at our carnival this year, I had more Black women volunteer to work and I thanked them for that. They said, "Don't forget me next year, when you do it again next year." which was really great. (5/16/80)

In interacting with families like the Vincents, one quickly discovered a shared set of values and a basis for friendship. As the Vincents, below, talk about education, we see really how much they are like the Kensington parents back in the "Golden Years" and how they fit the current conservative community norms:

> Mr. V: I guess I would like to see them, yeah, get as much education as they can possibly get....then I think the world is open to them. The sky's the limit type of thing. You know, it is not putting emphasis on, you know, being a doctor or do this or do that, but get this education, and then after that whatever might come in five years from now you would be ready for. Five years, if you have the education you would be ready for it....With my kids, you know, I instill in them, there is no such thing as White or Black, you are there to learn. That is all you are there for. You are not there for creating any problems where they have to try to deal with them....As far as expectations, I think they are pretty good. There is no difference (between Black and White) because we would know when our kids are not doing what they should do. But, you know, it is just a matter of a parent/teacher relationship there. You know, where you continue to push them, but you are pushing from both ends, and you will get it then. Because I know we have gone up for the parent/teachers conference, you know, and they more or less laid it on the line. They told us exactly what their downfalls were, and we worked on that. Now I tell them, I expect them to work on it from that angle, and there is no real problem....Most of your problems don't come from the teacher or from the school system, it starts here at home, and as a rule I think they (Kensington) do a pretty good job.

> Mrs. V: For me, I'm a very strict parent anyway, maybe that is why they don't give the teachers very much trouble. I think it could really be a little bit stricter....But I mean, who can learn if you sit there and talk all day. And that is the only problem that I have with mine. I still, you know, I tell her, "Well, I have been talking to your teacher and you have been running your mouth." So I guess I think it could be a little bit stricter. (11/6/80)

While the school has long had an important role in the integration of Whites and Blacks, we also find the local churches having much potential in promoting equality and social harmony. The Vincents, relating their experiences in joining the White Gordonville Baptist Church, illustrate this point:

> Mr. V: The children spend a lot of time in church activities. Every Wednesday night they go to church. Something similar to Girl Scouts, they call it G.A.'s at church, Girls in Action. You know, the same type of activities. They do things, just Friday night our daughter had a, what they call a "sleep over" in the church, and all the girls her age stayed or spent the night at church....They were able to stay there until 10:30 and then we had to pick her up. But they are involved. Sunday afternoons they go back to church choir and stuff like that. I push them and kind of help them to get there you know, but I go with them Sunday morning and then I come home and watch the football game.
>
> Obs: Oh, is that the Gordonville Baptist Church? Oh yeah, that is a very popular church in the area. People from all around go there. I guess they have a good preacher or something.
>
> Mr. V: Pretty popular, you are right, they have a lot of people there. I don't know half the people there.
>
> Mrs. V: I didn't realize it at first because I went to Sunday School, and then you know, a group of people like your own age and such, and you have them in your Sunday School classes and I didn't really realize that the church was a big as it is.
>
> Obs: Do you find that the church and its congregation, you characterized it as predominantly White, were they warm and friendly in welcoming, or kind of looking over their shoulder at these Black people? How were you received by the religious community?

> Mr. V: Too warm. I don't think I was really ready for it. Again, you know, like you and I sit here talking, we have a common interest right now so it is very easy for us to sit here and talk to each other. But then you go out and here are 6,000 people, and, you know, nobody knows anything about you. But they are trying to really make you feel welcome. I must say, I was more reluctant than they were. You know, "Get away from me, let me back up and get myself together here for awhile." There was no problem with that. It was one of the best experiences that I really had in dealing with White people, you know, is there....Sort of, you know, when the minister....
>
> Mrs. V: Don't tell him that! (Laughter)
>
> Mr. V: Okay, you know how the Black guys have a way of shaking hands?
>
> Obs: Sure
>
> Mr. V: Well, I'm walking in and the minister gives me this Black handshake and I felt like, "What is going on?"
>
> Mrs. V: He was giving him the regular handshake and it was so awkward, you know.
>
> Mr. V: He was trying to give me a soul brother handshake, and I'm trying to shake his hand. I thought, "Oh no, what is going on?"
>
> Obs: That is a great story. It is funny in some ways it was both of you saying to the other, "I respect you on your terms."
>
> Mr. V: Right, It was good to see that. We talked about that for days. (11/18/80)

Once again, common values--in this case religious--seemed to accomplish effortlessly what the courts continue to struggle for, and at great expense and with mixed results. This is not to imply that the courts have no proper role to play in promoting equality. Were it not for the 1954 Supreme Court decision, and Eisenhower's intervention in Little Rock, it is likely the Vincents would be less enthusiastic in their support for Kensington. Mr. Vincent explains, drawing from his own experiences with integrated education:

> Mr. V: When I grew up we lived about 100 miles south of Little Rock, so you can imagine how much worse it was there. They came up with a deal when I was a sophomore in high school, "freedom of choice," you know, whether or not you wanted to go to all White or all Black schools. I, along with seven other Blacks, decided to go to the all White school. But at any rate you know, through the whole school term I didn't have not one single problem. You know, not one. I didn't have any. I didn't care what somebody calls be behind my back, you know.
>
> Obs: But to your face?
>
> Mr. V: I was never called a "nigger," nothing like that, no problems at all. A few of the people that were there said that they had a problem there and there were a couple of fights, but as far as I was concerned, I was there for one reason and you know, I think it kind of went over on everybody. I only stayed there for one year. Then I went back to the all Black school. You know, it was that type of thing. My wife is the same way you know, she left and went to New York and finished school. You know, naturally she ran into all kinds of different people there. She never encountered any problems. (11/18/80)

Some native Milford residents were also the beneficiary of the court ordered desegregation of the mid 1950's. Had Milford not closed the Moses School, and offered its Black High School students an education in Milford schools, the experiences of one Jimmy Jefferson would never have occurred. Miss Flannigan tells a little about this success story. Our historical perspective helps us appreciate the significance of Jimmy Jefferson's achievment:

> Miss F: We used to have over there near behind the Building Materials Plant the old Moses school, a Black school.
>
> Obs: What do you know about that?
>
> Miss F: All I know is that when I came over here in '66 we had one Black student. He lived over in that area over that way. I, the family was named Jefferson, that was their name. And this kid named Jimmy Jefferson was an excellent student. Went on to become the student president at the high school, you know, the whole bit. They said, "Oh, the family has been here for many, many years. They lived over by the Moses

> School." I said, "Oh, Moses, what is Moses School?" Now it is storage for our school district, but at one time it was the Black school for this community. The kids went to grade school to eighth grade, and then we sent them into the city. (11/14/80)

We asked Mr. Vincent to comment about the progress of Blacks in America. We value his experiences and perceptions which he expressed as follows:

> Obs: Considering where this country was in the days of slavery and considering where we are today, what kind of progress do you feel that our country has made in terms of making a balance in freedom and equality for all people? In some ways I guess, I'm asking how well the American system is working to correct its own problems.
>
> Mr. V: I think it is making progress, you know. Again I put so much emphasis on individuals. On the individual that, you know, you are kidding yourself to sit around and really wait. The fact that, well, I think we are making fair progress. Simply because you know, since slavery, Blacks are being able to get into different jobs and making different money. Not only Blacks but anybody...can just build and push their kids to get the top priority education, and all these other different things. You know, what it boils down to as far as I'm concerned again is, you know, what the individual really wants. It is going to determine how much progress has been made and how much progress is going to be made. Because, if I sit back, and say, "Well things are going to change" and I don't really put forth any effort to try and make this change, make it for myself, then there is no way that it is going to be any better for them. So, as far as I feel, that it has made some progress, simply because I have done better than my father. My father did better than his father, you know. Looking at it from that standpoint. (11/18/80)

While we make no effort to predict the future of race relations in the Milford School District, we do see several trends we would point out in the way of concluding this third volume of Kensington Revisited. The process of racial transition, while at first turbulent and even violent, seemed to stabilize within a couple of years in both the community and the school. We realize that some of this stability may be an artifact of tenant policies which changed the social class and culture of

Kensington. We must also note that in Kensington's case, stability may be only temporary, for one of the few relatively large parcels of land remaining undeveloped in the district lies just adjacent to Kensington. How this land is used could well effect Kensington's future. Should appartments and Black families be located here in the future, we are confident Kensington School will be better prepared to handle such racial changes.

We also find demographic trends contributing to the eventual integration of Milford schools. Since 1980, Milford West Junior High School--formerly Spiral Hill School, built while F.K. Tholozan was on the Board--was closed and all of Milford's Junior High aged students have become housed in Milford Central Junior. The large proportion of retirees on the west side of the district is bound to make housing increasingly available on the west side, and some Blacks have since taken up residence in Carlton Heights and Edinburg Estates.

Political action may also effect Milford's future. The unsuccessful bid by Blacks for two School Board seats in 1980 came at a time when Black enrollments in the district were about 30%. At the time of this writing, the proportions are closer to 50:50. An effective campaign by Black residents could, in the near future, change district policy on neighborhood schools, and promote racial balance in ways not currently acceptable to the community.

Finally, court action may alter Milford's racial composition by requiring Milford to participate in an exchange of students with Metropolitan City. In 1982, Milford became a defendent in a case alleging it contributed to racial segregation in the City schools. Miss Flannigan explained the history of this court case, which goes back to the Moses school and the Black community at Pleasant Hill:

> Miss F: Now with all this desegregation thing, Milford qualifies as being a "bad guy" because at one time we used to send our high school Black kids to the city for the high school education. We would not allow them evidentlly into our high school, but we did have Moses elementary. I guess that was one through eighth grades, which meant that since we sent our Black kids into the city for the high school education, that now when they researched all this desegregation thing in this last couple of years, they said, "Aha, Milford is one of the baddies who would not educate their own Blacks, they sent them to the city, so therefore a reciprocal type thing, we ought to be able to transport our (city) kids, you know, to Milford"....Since we sent our high school Blacks into the city for an education, therefore today that meant that they ought to incorporate all of us together in a big area and we could bus all the way around. And we would become a part of the busing in the city. (11/14/80)

At the present time, the district remains confident that no laws have been violated in the past or present, and we don't envision Milford taking a proactive stance regarding race and neighborhood schools until such time that vox populi or the courts mandate such change. As a parting thought, the history of Milford teaches us that gradual change has worked better in the community than "Alternative of Grandeur" schemes, as in the Spanman era. We also know that when the Milford District has been required to make large changes, such as following the 1954 Supreme Court decision, it did so ungrudgingly. To us it seems not a question of if the Milford Board will address the issue of race, but a question of when. Whether by court decree, political action or demographics, change seems inevitable in Milford. How this will effect Kensington is uncertain. Perhaps in another 15 years we will return to see.

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